

## MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

### Using interactive documentary as a peacebuilding tool

De, Mousumi

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# USING INTERACTIVE DOCUMENTARY AS A PEACEBUILDING TOOL

Mousumi De

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's  
requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy.

2009

## Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the man sitting in front of the Parliament Square for the last six years as a mark of non-violent protest and the millions of people who demonstrated non-violently against the G8 Summit in Gleneagles, June 2005.

## Acknowledgement

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### Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements.

Mousumi De.....

14<sup>th</sup> February 2008

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## **ABSTRACT**

Media can play a crucial role in a peacebuilding process. Along with news and information, media assistance in peacebuilding covers a wide variety of communication types that include print, electronic and new media. Within the domain of new media initiatives for peacebuilding, my research seeks to explore the potential of interactive documentary as a peacebuilding tool. Interactive documentary offers new conventions for organizing and presenting audio-visual narrative. The new possibilities for audience engagement and interaction, together with possibilities of networking and distribution can be utilized to advance the goals of media assistance in peacebuilding.

In my research, I first explore the medium of interactive documentary, analyse the dynamics of media assistance in peacebuilding, especially the emerging practice of peace journalism and its significance as an emotionally and socially intelligent approach to journalism, and then consider the use of interactive documentary within the domain of peacebuilding. Further, through creative production I develop a prototype of interactive documentary that exemplifies an approach that could be taken as a medium for peace journalism. Finally, I propose ways in which interactive documentary may be assessed within the framework of peacebuilding.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Aims and objectives of the research

The overall aim of this research is to consider the use of interactive documentary as a peacebuilding tool. This would be achieved by the following objectives-

- First, understand the structure and aesthetics of interactive documentary.
- Second, understand the concept and process of media assistance in peacebuilding
- Third, analyse the practice of peace journalism and its relationship with emotional and social intelligence.
- Fourth, explore the potential of interactive documentary in advancing the goals of media assistance in peacebuilding
- Fifth, develop a prototype interactive documentary that demonstrates its application as a medium for peace journalism.
- Sixth, propose ways in which such documentary may be assessed within the framework of peacebuilding.

**Note:** Please read the thesis first and then view the practical work (prototype interactive documentary), as it is illustrative of the theory.

## **1.2 Positioning the researcher**

This research is inter-disciplinary in nature. Although the research is following an understand-realize-evaluate lifecycle, this is supported by the centrality of the creative work and the application of reflective practice (Scrivener 2000; 2003), which recognizes the relationship between the researcher, the problem domain, users and evolution of the artefacts. This section is in response to Scrivener's (2000) concept of the 'shape of a creative-production project' and discusses personal, professional and cultural issues in relation to my research. It provides a reflection of my past practice and experience, as factors which have an important and direct influence on the choice and direction of my research. Scrivener suggests, 'a creative-production project will be grounded in a practitioner's current practice and realised in future projects. Consequently, it should begin with reflection on past practice and appreciative system' (2000:9).

### **1.2.1 Art, design and technology**

My personal history as an artist, activist and designer is marked by the creation of art works generated as a result of my personal politics, in response to the politics in the outside world. My art practice is mostly graphical and has semblance with traditional art practices of West Bengal in India. These are defined by highly dense, detailed and intricate textures which tend to reveal the underlying layers embedded in the peripheral surface of objects; providing an expose of the infinitesimal and subliminal complexity that lies beyond visual perception.

## Previous work



Figure 1: Alpana -an ancient ritualistic practice of floor painting that was originally done with rice paste. This painting is done with different colours on paper (1988)



Figure 2: So' ham ('I am He' in Sanskrit): Painting in water colour, this is a visual manifestation of the word So' ham, which in Hindu philosophy epitomizes the oneness of the human with the divine power (1989)

Along with my art practice, many of my design works are driven by the ethos of ‘art for society sake’ and motivated by the desire to question and contradict many societal conditions and practices that are inherent in an asynchronously progressing Indian social order. These tend to provide a voice for those who are in the marginalized strata of society, especially women and children –who are overtly visible, yet imperceptible in the larger gamut of society.



Figure 3 – Illustration in pencil made for an AIDS awareness poster. Traditionally an Indian woman is perceived as an epitome of chastity. Many Indian women contract AIDS from their squandering husbands and are abandoned, and left helpless (1989)



Figure 4-Bins of Amsterdam is a mixed media illustration, inspired from my first trip to Amsterdam, when I stayed in a guest house in the red light district. The stories of some workingwomen who are bound to work there are very similar to stories of Indian workingwomen. Amsterdam is also marked by its fantastic International airport which has sensor-based dustbins. This illustration manifests the co-existence of sensor-based and social dustbins, which is rather surreal and questions man's ability to make technology to sensitive but society? (2004)

These works also document my reflections on socio-political issues that seek to generate a sense of awareness and social discourse. They manifest the politics of my own beliefs that stem out of my frustration that lie dormant with regard to different forms of structural violence<sup>1</sup> in the Indian socio-political order and my inability to bring any tangible change to those aspects.

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<sup>1</sup> **Note:** Structural violence refers to ways in which people are damaged and prevented from fulfilling their human capital, by the dominant institutions and structural patterns of political power, wealth distribution, food distribution etc where the agent of violence is the system (e.g. capitalism, patriarchy, industrialism etc)





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Conversely, my professional practice was that of fashion designing and clothing technology and my work involved engaging more with technology than art. Given the fact that I had no ICT education, it was in the clothing industry that I first engaged with computers through computer-aided machines such as the Jacquard's Loom. After years of working in the clothing industry, I realised that I was not making any tangible contribution to social issues. This motivated me to change over to digital media, with a desire to digress from paper-based medium to computer-based medium and continue using art as a medium to invoke social discourse. This interest was also coupled with a

desire to use the medium of documentary for this purpose, a medium I felt very passionate about but had no opportunity to indulge within the milieu of my personal or professional practice. Being intrigued by the possibilities of a computer as a graphic tool, I was interested in exploring the potential it holds when integrated with traditional documentary and the possibilities of new media documentary.

### 1.2.2 Subject

In articulating the ‘norms of creative-production projects’, Scrivener (2000) suggests that a creative project, rather than necessarily producing new knowledge, contributes instead to human experience. The work is described as a response to a set of on-going issues, concerns and interests expressed through one or more artefact. In this regard, one of the norms of such projects is their highly personal profile, and by extension, their location in a cultural context (Scrivener 2000: 3). This section provides an insight into my personal relationship with the research subject and why I am specifically interested in exploring the use of interactive documentary for the purpose of peacebuilding.

#### 1.2.2.1 My experience of structural violence and 9/11

As a woman, I was concerned about social issues that are entrenched in the Indian patriarchal society, especially those related to gender inequality and violence against women. As an urban Indian, I was concerned about different agents of structural violence such as the corrupt and defunct systems deeply rooted within the Indian political order. Unable to bring any tangible change, I, along with many urban Indians succumbed to these systems and perceived these as systems that cannot be transformed. In other words,

I felt that, we as common people do not have the power to mobilize change. This sense of inability to bring change led to a sense of apathy, that we are too small and the systems are too big to bring any change. My apathy towards the Indian political system was further reinforced by the assassination of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who was killed by a suicide bomber largely because of his intention to impose peace, by sending Peacekeeping forces to Sri Lanka in a disastrous attempt to curb the militant organization Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (BBC 1991). These factors led to a sense of frustration, aversion and apathy for politics in general, which also transcended to global politics until 9/11.

The events in my life that followed 9/11, made me revise my opinion and sense of apathy for national and global politics, and eventually global violence. In September 2001, I was serving notice from Capital Mercury Apparels Limited, which has its head quarters on 1359 Broadway, New York, a few miles away from the World Trade Centre. After 9/11, our co-workers in New York were understandably very deeply affected by the incident, which also affected us. There were two occasions after 9/11 when they evacuated their office due to bomb threats. Sitting in front of a computer screen with a message, which read that they received a bomb threat and hence, were evacuating, was a rather surreal experience with a strong sense of powerlessness. Later, in the following months, I was prevented from studying digital media in the US, as all visas were stalled following 9/11 and I lost one year looking for alternatives. Eventually I moved to the UK in 2002 and in 2003, the India office of Capital Mercury was completely shut down and all my Indian co-workers lost their jobs. This primarily resulted from a good will gesture by the United

States towards Pakistan for their political support extended during the Afghan war. A large number of garment orders that were initially planned for Indian exporters were diverted to exporters in Pakistan. Garment exports are the second largest net foreign exchange earner for India and this move deeply affected the entire garment export industry. Although the incident of 9/11 was similar in scale to several other terrorist activities, it had repercussions worldwide and transformed the face of global politics and global violence.

Whilst in the UK, I was influenced by other repercussions that developed in the global arena, such as the widening disparity between the British Muslims and non-Muslims, which in some ways echoed the widening gap between the Arab and the non-Arab world after the Iraq war. Besides being sensitized by the violence and collateral damage, I was also overwhelmed to see two million people demonstrate non-violently against their own government on Feb 15th 2003 in London. It was overwhelming to witness other global citizens use non-violent strategies to mobilize change against structural violence within the context of the Afghan and Iraq wars post 9/11. These incidents instilled in me a sense of global interconnectedness and transformed my sense of apathy into a sense of social responsibility, especially towards understanding aspects of global violence and strategies that have the capacity to bring social change.

#### 1.2.2.2 My interest in positive peace<sup>2</sup>

As a response to my experiences, I am specifically interested in creating a work that seeks to profess the philosophy of non-violence. Further, I am specifically interested in creating a work that is driven by the philosophy of positive peace. Of the many art and media works done for peacebuilding, it is observed that most of these works address the issue of negative peace instead of positive peace. Hence, I am interested in creating a work that contributes to peacebuilding, which is driven by the philosophy of positive peace.

#### 1.2.2.3. My interest in using the concept of non-violence for my documentary

Apart from these influences, as an Indian I am conscious of the overall relationship between India and Britain, which started with East India Company, continued through India's struggle for freedom, and is still maintained through positive relations in the commonwealth. This transition was greatly witnessed by the non-violent strategies and initiatives implemented by Gandhi in the last century. Use of non-violent strategies and initiatives has also been effective in bringing about change in other global struggles such as the Apartheid and the Civil Rights Movement. From a theoretical perspective, Brian Martin (2006) suggests three approaches to social change- conventional politics, violence and non-violence. Of these approaches Martin states, non-violence has more advantages in bringing social change than others (ibid). However, considering the face of global politics post 9/11, whether non-violence can be an effective alternative to military violence in this century, is a big question. Further, there are other questions such as, how

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<sup>2</sup> **Note:** Positive peace as defined by Johan Galtung (1969), the father of peace studies is the prevalence of attributes such as integration, cooperation, harmony etc

much do people know about non-violence and their perception of non-violence. Most people are aware of leaders such as Bush and Bin-Laden, but, how much do they know about Gandhi? Can people make concepts of Gandhism and non-violence work in this century? Does people power exist in this century? The interactive documentary ‘An eye for an eye?’, created as a result of this research seeks to explore these perspectives.

### **1.3 Research Context**

This research draws upon a wide range of academic and professional fields of study, with a significant discourse related to theoretical and practical aspects of new media, specifically interactive documentary, and peacebuilding. This section establishes the position of this research, the contextual framework within which it draws its investigations and the influences relevant to this research.

In understanding the structure and aesthetics of interactive documentaries, I shall first analyse the concept of new media, its emergence, principles and its convergence with cinema, that led to the emergence of interactive cinema, of which interactive documentary is a part. For the purpose of this research, the positioning of interactive documentary is taken as a subset of interactive cinema, although other approaches could also be taken. The term new media within the context of interactive media works, according to Manovich (2001: 43) refers to all forms of computer-mediated communication, in terms of its production, acquisition, storage, manipulation and

distribution. Cinema's convergence with new media led to new forms of cinematic conventions that have altered the art form of traditional cinema - in its ways of organizing audio-visual narratives, presenting this to the audience and how human experience is structured while accessing the same (Manovich 2001: 82). Interactive cinema and hence, interactive documentary thus differ from traditional documentary in terms of their structure and aesthetics. While traditional cinema has held its fixed notions of temporality, spatial fixity of montage and audience engagement, interactive documentaries break away from these conventions and offer new possibilities of framing reality and audience engagement and interaction. These dynamics have wider implications and my research seeks to explore its potential for the purpose of peacebuilding.

My research also analyses the concept of peace and the multifaceted nature peacebuilding. Peacebuilding as defined by UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali (1992; 1995), describes the term in a broad range of local, regional, national and international initiatives intended to promote peace. It is a mesh of activities needed in a process of recovery from tension and violence; it often requires massive efforts to enable the return and resettlement of internally displaced people and refugees; the reconstruction of infrastructures and buildings, the rebuilding of economic life, social networks and institutions, legal systems and politics (Boutros-Ghali 1995:11). In my research, I follow the tradition of Galtung's concept of peace building, which refers to the creation of 'positive peace' and encompasses far more than just the absence of violence (Galtung 1969). Peacebuilding is a very complex process that is driven by goals and requires



strategic media interventions that can assist in the process of peacebuilding. Of the different types of media interventions, journalism plays a crucial role as stays at the forefront of a peacebuilding process. While there are conventional forms of journalism that profess neutrality and objectivity, in the recent years, especially after the Bosnian conflict, there has been an upsurge of unconventional forms of journalism, which started with Martin Bell, who coined the term 'journalism of attachment' (Bell 1997)<sup>3</sup>. Along with journalism of attachment, is also a new form of journalism called peace journalism, which in the recent years has largely been an academic project (Kempf 2003: 2). The practice of subjective forms of journalism however has been subjected to intense debate in the Western media circle. Critics such as Loyn (2003) argue that journalists are witnesses of truth and should not intervene in any conflict situation, instead should remain detached and maintain objectivity in order to uphold values of truth and fairness. Supporters of subjective forms of journalism have however fiercely argued that truth is subjective and objectivity is a myth; that all journalists, however objective unconsciously manipulate the stories by the choices they make and the way they frame the story (Howard 2002: 1). Most significantly, as Manoff (cited by Howard 2002: 10) argues that professional norms of journalism do not rate higher than fundamental human and moral obligations to end conflicts. According to Howard (2002), peacebuilding requires a subjective form of journalism and media intervention, with a specific commitment towards resolution of conflict. In this regard, Howard proposes a typology of five types of media interventions of which type three and type five are most pertinent to my research.

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<sup>3</sup> Bell's writings on the subject is concentrated in his two books, *In Harm's Way, Reflections of a War Zone Thug* (1997); *Through Gates of Fire, A Journey Into World Disorder* (2003); and in the two articles *TV News: How far Should We Go?* (*British Journalism Review* 1997); and *The Truth Is Our Currency* (*Press/Politics* 1998).

Apart from these contentions, Fröhlich (2005) introduces the concept of emotional traumatization in journalism and the pertinence of emotional intelligence in journalism. The term emotional intelligence first came to prominence with Daniel Goleman's (1997) bestseller with the same name, which describes emotional intelligence as the ability to recognise and regulate one's emotions. In her research, Fröhlich establishes the implications of emotional intelligence in the media context; both in terms of what journalists communicate in an intra-personally resourceful way, and in terms of the messages, they convey subconsciously to their audiences. Hence, applying emotional intelligence can be beneficial, both on the level of internal communication within each journalist (intra-personally) and in terms of an emotionally intelligent approach to media work (inter-personally). Fröhlich thus proposes that peace journalism as a concept and practice is an emotionally intelligent approach to current world events.

The concept of peace journalism was originally conceptualized by Johan Galtung in the 1960s, and has recently come to prominence with works by Wolfsfeld (1997; 2001), Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch (2002; 2003; 2005; 2007). According to McGoldrick & Lynch (2001), peace journalism opens up a literacy of non-violence and creativity in thinking about conflict and applying to the practical job of everyday reporting (2001: 6). While it upholds values of balance, fairness and responsibilities, it is driven by an obligation towards conflict resolution. Contrary to war journalism, peace journalism seeks to disaggregate the different factions and factors involved in a conflict situation to explore the complexities that can help in bringing effective solutions. While war journalism is characterized by violence, propaganda and a victory oriented approach,

peace journalism on the other hand, is characterized by peace or conflict, truth, cooperative and a solution oriented approach. Inspired by Fröhlich's (2005) research, which linked the relatively new concepts of emotional intelligence and peace journalism, I build on her findings to explore in depth the application of emotional intelligence in peace journalism, which establishes that peace journalism is an emotionally and socially intelligent approach to journalism. While Fröhlich largely uses Goleman's (1997) concept with an intra-personal approach, I use Bar-On's (1997; 2005) model of emotional-social intelligence to explore the interpersonal competencies and its use within the working principles of peace journalism. Conversely, while it can be established that peace journalism can be more effective in peace building than other forms of journalism, it is also the most difficult to implement, due to its time and resource intensive needs. Not only does it require individual journalists to have an ethical transformation and in depth knowledge of conflict theory (Kempf 2003: 10), but also structural changes at institutional level that can support the implementation of peace journalism (Tehranian 2002: 58). This however is very difficult to achieve and changes in the media-consciousness are least likely to arise from the decision-making bodies (Fröhlich 2005: 6). All these factors make the working of peace journalism very difficult at the level of daily news media. Further, Rolt suggests that even those media institutions, which are committed towards using peace journalistic approach, do not utilize the full potential range of modern mass media. According to Francis Rolt (2005), news only constitutes about 15% of the different types of media (2005: 5). In the wake of these analyses and understandings, I propose to explore the use of interactive documentary as a

peacebuilding tool that draws its insights from the concept of positive peace and the philosophy and principles of peace journalism.

In this relation, I explore the potential of interactive documentary in peacebuilding and analyse the structure and aesthetics of interactive documentary especially in relation to the philosophy and principles of peace journalism. Interactive documentaries have many advantages, in relation to its linear counterpart, that is the traditional documentary.

Interactive documentaries have a different format; hence, they have the capacity to represent reality in a broader way through multiple perspectives and dimensions. By facilitating multiplicity of meanings, it can address complexities of a war and conflict situation and provide better understanding of events. It also allows the audience to physically interact with the media content, and facilitate a collaborative co-construction with the audience in the representation of reality. Apart from these, traditional documentary making professes objectivity and neutrality in the representation of reality, where the author is restrained from imposing his or her subjective viewpoints onto the audience. Peacebuilding requires a subjective mode of intervention on part of journalists and others who seek to represent the reality of the conflict. Interactive documentary allows the documentary maker to be subjective in addressing larger issues regarding peace and conflict, however does not impose his or her view points on the audience, since the audience interact with the documentary and trace their own narratives and the construction of reality. Further, interactive documentary allows its authors to add more content in due course of time for a longer period; hence, it evolves over time. This is contrary to a traditional documentary, in which the film maker, shoots and edits the

documentary within a certain time frame, while in reality, the issues that it seeks to address continues to grow. Just as, peace journalists remain with a conflict situation over a longer period of time even after peace treaties have been signed, for reformation, reconstruction and reconciliation. These findings establish that interactive documentary as a medium conforms to the ethos and working philosophy of peace journalism. It can be used as a peacebuilding tool, especially as an alternative medium to peace journalistic reporting in a post conflict stage, that is undergoing reformation and reconciliation, which will not entail the pressures of daily news reporting in a low or high intensity conflict situation. Further, to assess its use as an effective peace building tool, it is necessary to have those attributes in a media peace building project that make it effective for peace building. In this regard, I examine some of the most successful media peace building projects from *Search For Common Ground*, an NGO that is dedicated to use media for peace building.

Interactive documentaries however, have a lot of challenges, which need to be considered and addressed for their effectiveness in peacebuilding. These significantly include problems of sustained audience engagement (Ben-Shaul 2001: 1) due to its multifaceted conventions of multiple and split screens and difficulties arising from cumbersome navigation modes and narrative incoherence (Freeman 2000: 1). Apart from these, other significant problem is that of mass accessibility, which is most pertinent for the purpose of peacebuilding. Hence, the design of the interactive documentary, apart from considering the needs of a peacebuilding process, and addressing these challenges, will

consider using an interactive story telling system that is sustainable on the mass medium of the Internet (Ogan 1996: 1).

Having explored the potential of interactive documentary as a peacebuilding tool, I develop an interactive documentary by practice-based research, most specifically reflective-practice (Schön 1983). In the design of the documentary, I also consider ethics in research in art, design and media (Newbury and Boulton 2006), which is a fairly new field in the domain of art and design research. I also consider ethical codes of conduct in journalism, which I consider as a documentary filmmaker and ethics in the field of peacebuilding.

In the design of the documentary, I consider the use of the Korsakow System (Thalhofer 2000), which is a story telling system, that enables the creation of what Kevin Brookes (1999) calls metalinear narrative. The metalinear narrative is a collection of small related story pieces designed to be arranged in many multiple ways, to tell many multiple linear stories from multiple points of view, with the aid of a story engine which sequences the story pieces (1999: 19). The system provides a random mode of navigation, in which the narrative emerges as a collaborative co-construction between the author, the system and the audience. Most significantly, the Korsakow system is sustainable on the Internet, which allows the interactive documentary to be viewed over the Internet. Finally, I propose ways in which such interactive documentary may be assessed within the framework of peacebuilding.

#### **1.4 Overview of the thesis**

This thesis has three parts, the first, is this document, which explains the theoretical context of my research. The second part is a prototype version of the interactive documentary, which can be accessed online, at the site [http: www.aneyeforaneyefilm.net](http://www.aneyeforaneyefilm.net) and the third part is the disk, which has a linear version of the documentary. It is recommended that the documentaries be viewed after reviewing the thesis.

#### **1.5 Introduction to the interactive documentary ‘An eye for an eye?’**

The interactive documentary titled ‘An eye for an eye?’ is inspired by one of Gandhi’s sayings, ‘*An eye for an eye will make the whole world blind*’. This saying stems out of the distortion of the true meaning of the biblical saying ‘an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth’, which instead of signifying the biblical law of retribution or the law of equivalency, came to be used in the context of revenge. The title has a question mark, which directly questions the audience whether such a connotation of revenge is meaningful and what they personally think. During India’s struggle for freedom, Gandhi used non-violence as a powerful and a successful strategy against the British, which among other factors was largely influential in winning India’s independence. Whether such a strategy can be an alternative to military solutions post 9/11 is a very big question.

The documentary seeks this answer by exploring peoples’ perceptions about global violence and non-violence, through their personal experiences and stories. It is shot in over seven countries and has interviews of over seventy people, who come from all walks of life. These include, politicians, religious leaders, people who work with diplomacies,

victims of war and conflict, students, artists, peace activists and demonstrators. These people come from different nationalities that include Britain, Germany, Netherlands, Kyrgyzstan, Iraq, Lebanon and others, as remote as Lithuania.



Figure 8: The simpleton Vs mahatma from An eye for an eye?

Copyright © 2007 - mousumi de for An eye for an eye?

A starting point of the documentary was to ask people a set of questions, which are:

1. Did the events of 9/11 affect you personally in any way? If so, how did it affect you?
2. Did the subsequent events of the Afghan and the Iraq wars, affect you in any way? If so, how?
3. Do you see any semblance between Bush and Bin Laden?
4. Have you ever heard of Gandhi?
5. Have you ever heard of the concept of non-violence?
6. Do you think people's power exists?
7. Do you think people's power can make non-violence work in this century?



8. Do you have any message for the world?

The documentary started as a compilation of peoples' experiences and perceptions about non-violence, however, it emerged as a compilation of their stories, which lie beneath the skin of their opinions. In the heart of these stories lies the human in different faces.

An eye for an eye ? , invites its viewers to see the human that lies beneath the garb of nationality, race, regime, class, creed, colour and the different faces of god. It seeks to give an opportunity to the viewer to seek the 'self' in the 'other' and the 'other' in the 'self', which can generate a sense of empathy for the 'other'. Further details about the documentary and its production are discussed in the chapter Creative production.

## **2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **2.1 Understand-realise-evaluate lifecycle**

The research phasing will follow the understand-realise-evaluate lifecycle (Woodcock 2002) and these are elaborated as follows:

Understand... ..This stage is characterized by literature and state of the art reviews, which will seek to develop a theoretical and practical understanding of issues relating to interactive documentaries and peace and reconciliation in global conflicts and the ways in which different types of documentaries might be used for peace building.

Realise... .. This phase will entail developing of skills in social and interactive documentary film making; gathering of content in the form of filmed interviews with randomly selected participants and iterative development of the interactive documentary and the linear documentary.

Evaluate... The final stage will evaluate audience responses to the interactive and the linear documentary. This stage however falls outside the domain of my current research; hence, I will only propose ways in which such a documentary maybe evaluated within the framework of peacebuilding.

## **2.2 Creative production**

In the creation of the interactive documentary, I consider the nature of this project within the research context of creative production. The term creative production is used by Scrivener (2000: 1) to describe forms of Ph.D. research in design, where the work is concerned with intervention, innovation and change but its purpose is to contribute to human experience. An artefact produced is generally a response to, and manifestation of, issues, concerns and interests that reflect cultural pre-occupations.

Scrivener (2000) suggests that design projects at Ph.D. level may be broadly considered under two categories, namely, problem solving research projects and creative-production projects. While both forms of research share a common concern with the generation of an artefact (or artefacts), they differ significantly in their nature and often in the research design employed in their development. Problem solving research projects, he suggests, are generally concerned with the development of new or improved artefacts. Generally, the artefact is a solution to a known problem and demonstrates a useful solution to the problem. The problem that is solved is normally recognized as such by others and the knowledge reified within the artefact can be described, transferred, and applied. This knowledge, he argues, is generally more important than the artefact (2000: 2-4).

The interactive documentary that is created from the research does not seek to improve on the forms of interactive documentary, but seeks to utilize its potential within the domain

of peacebuilding by creating an artefact that can contribute to the field of peacebuilding. The interactive documentary may be described as original in, that it emerges out of a cultural context and seeks to contribute to human experience and generated out of a response to a set of on-going issues, concerns and interests. According to Scrivener (2000: 3), these are the features that describe the norms of a creative production project.

The methodology of creative production is characterized by reflective practice. Schön (1983) suggests that the designer is often engaged in research where typically, the making process is a complex discourse between practice and reflection (1983: 79).

Reflective practice is fundamentally structured around enquiry and is driven by questions, dialogue and stories. Reflection provides a means for gaining visibility on a problem or questions that need answers. To gain visibility, we examine experiences that are relevant to the project. Powerful ‘technologies’ for examining experience are stories (narrative accounts of experience) and dialogue (building thinking about experience out loud). Journaling is similar to dialogue in the case of individual reflection. The journal, or Creative journal, as Scrivener (2000: 9) suggests, is a flexible, non-linear system of data gathering and processing that enables unique systems of grouping and dialogic reflection on emerging ideas. In the context of my research, the creative journal as a term is used to describe a bound or unbound document that records and reflects on data gathered and processed in the development of solutions to problems. The journal’s main purpose in this project is two fold. It facilitates the research process through recording observations, impressions and questions as they occur, and also stimulates reflective thinking about the

research. The journal also has the advantage of being reflective, reflexive and portable. The journals used in this project record observations, impressions and reflections from the outset of the research. According to Newbury and Boulton (2006), the journal is 'a self reflexive and media literate chronicle of the researcher's entry into, engagement with and departure from the field' (2006:7).

In the course of my research, I started with the intention of asking a set of fixed questions to people I came across. Based on the practice of reflection on the ongoing events, I kept changing the shape of the documentary. For example, initially someone pointed out that I was 'already editing' by choosing who to interview and who not to. This thought provoked me into interviewing people at random and I interviewed a lot of people from a demonstration about whom I had no prior knowledge about their background. Further, I realized that I would like to incorporate more media content about the demonstrators to signify the quantum of people who are actually involved in non-violent protest than people I interviewed sitting in rooms talking about their theoretical understanding or their perspectives of the issue. The most significant influence that resulted from reflective practice is the nature of the content of the documentary. Initially I was interested in understanding and representing people's perspectives about non-violence, but on subsequent reflection, I realized that it was more important to record their personal stories and experiences. This is because individuals' opinions and beliefs are shaped by their experiences, hence getting an understanding of these experiences and representing them would shed light on what causes these opinions for example, why a person believes that non-violence can work as a strategy and why it might not work.

The research method for making the documentary essentially needed a discursive and reflective practice and the creative journal was a very helpful tool in recording of events and then reflecting upon them, which ultimately shaped and influenced the nature of the content of the documentary.

### **2.3 Ethics in research, media and peacebuilding**

This section draws upon different considerations with regard to ethical issues. In general, ethics deals with the philosophical foundations of decision making and choosing amongst good and bad choices one is faced with. The word ethics is sometimes used descriptively to refer to a set of rules or principles, which inform (or claim to inform) the actions of a community. It is also used philosophically to refer to the systematic study of reasoning about how we ought to act (Cazeaux 2003: 2). Although there are ethical considerations and issues that are common across different subject areas, there are also considerations that are specific to the subject that is being addressed. In relation to my research and within the context of the research project, there are ethical considerations not only regarding art, design and media research, but also ethics in media and peacebuilding.

### 2.3.1. Ethical considerations in art, design and media research

Research in art, design and media are relatively new disciplines compared to other more established subject areas. Study of ethical implications of research in this domain, is therefore an area of current development, where best practice is still being established. Professional practice and Research in art, design and media may challenge conventional responses to ethical issues developed in other disciplines, as they involve other dynamics such as audience participation, visual representation through photography or audio-visual representation through media etc. and all these raise case specific ethical issues. While ethical awareness is a key attribute of a trained researcher, there are no prescriptions for doing research ethically, as ethical judgements are highly context-sensitive and dilemmas faced by researchers rarely have a simplistic right or wrong answer. However, ‘ethical awareness leads to better research’ (Newbury and Boultonwood 2006).

In the context of my research, I will consider some of the ethical issues pointed by Newbury and Boultonwood (2006) in their project *-Research ethics in art, design and media project*, Research Training Initiative. The set of ethical categories proposed by Newbury and Boultonwood, represent a comprehensive map of ethical issues, which maybe common to many disciplines, but also include those, which are specific to art, design and media. Some of these considerations relevant to my research are:

- (i) Safeguarding the well being of participants (which include, threats to psychological well-being, sensitivity to the needs and expectations of participants, psychological impact on researcher). Since the interactive documentary that I propose to develop deals with issues of conflict (along

with peace), I would be careful in the course of interviewing my subjects about their sensitivity to such subjects and their willingness to participate.

(ii) Research participants and informed consent (which include, collaborators, participants or subjects, the right to withdraw, neutrality and maintaining the role of researcher, secure storage of privileged information).

(iii) Dissemination (which include anonymity, confidentiality, visual representations of individuals or social groups, potential harm to the reputation of participants). In the making of my documentary, is there are subjects who want to maintain anonymity, then I would honour their request and ensure confidentiality of their participation.

### 2.3.2. Ethical considerations in media

Ethical considerations form a core component of media practice, and these are of utmost importance to my research considering the large proportion of media content used for my research. Media ethicist Louis Day (1991) mentions certain aspects that need to be instilled in training journalists (which are also applicable to other media practitioners) that can facilitate ethical media practice. Although there is no ethics training for researchers using media, these considerations have been taken into account for the purpose of my research, especially while shooting the film and during the editing process for the interactive documentary that is developed from my research. It would be helpful to establish that ethical considerations that are applicable to journalists are also applicable to me as a documentary maker dealing with a subject such as conflict and peace issues at a global level.



Day (1991) states that it is important for media practitioners to develop an emotional empathy with others that is not elicited by discussing ethical issues in abstract terms, and having quality decision-making, whether it is in the choice of headline, a picture or selection of news (1991: 7). Further, it is important to elicit a sense of moral obligation and personal responsibility. Day states that media often emphasise freedom at the expense of responsibility. Tolerating disagreement and respect of other points of view is an important part of ethical process (ibid: 8). This is also emphasised by Retief (2002) who proposes ‘not to automatically label opposite points of view as immoral’ (ibid:6).

With regard to the role of a journalist, which is also applicable for media practitioners, Retief says that ‘everything that a journalist does has ethical dimensions to a lesser or a greater degree’. Even minor journalistic exercises have ethical implications, because everything a journalist writes or says, or neglects to write or to say in some or other way has an influence on people’ (Retief 2002: 4) Ethical media practice thus seeks journalists’ reporting to be transparent, to obtain and keep credibility and be accountable (responsible). Media ethics centre mainly on three major issues: accuracy and fairness in reporting and photojournalism; the behaviour of reports, especially in relation to their sources; and avoidance of conflicts of interest (DeFleur and Dennis 1998: 541). Of these, the one most applicable to me is ‘conflict of interest’. While I seek to utilize this research in exploring the concept and possibilities of non-violence, I might come across subjects who do not believe in this concept or are sceptical about its prospects in the current stream of global events. I would be my effort to represent all views without any bias.

Retief (2002: 44-45) proposed ‘an ethical code of conduct’ for journalists and other media practitioners that can serve as guidelines and assist in critical decision-making process. Of these the ones relevant to my research include:

- (i) Being accurate both in text and context (and correct mistakes promptly)
- (ii) Being fair, presenting all relevant facts in a balanced way.
- (iii) Being free from obligation to any interest group.
- (iv) Respecting the privacy of individuals.
- (v) Not intruding into private grief and distress.
- (vi) Refraining from any kind of stereotyping.
- (vii) Being socially responsible in referring to matters of violence, brutality etc.

### 2.3.3. Ethical considerations in Peacebuilding

Ethical considerations in peacebuilding are critical to my research project especially during stages when faced with controversial media content, that may well be allowed ‘as freedom of expression’ within media ethics, but may go against the grain of professing a language that can promote peacebuilding. Apart from my commitment towards the subject of non-violence, as an Indian, I am aware of the Kashmir conflict, which has also shaped my views and opinions of people directly or indirectly involved in the conflict, hence I might be faced with dilemmas when dealing with people from that region or others involved during the course of my documentary making. It would therefore be useful to consider Warfield’s (2002) suggestions regarding ethical considerations in peacebuilding. Ethical considerations in peacebuilding operations take on different

dimensions than those associated with members of the media. Warfield (2002) suggests that those involved in peacebuilding are challenged with a conflict within a conflict. Along with the conflict situation, which involves peacebuilding, are ethical dilemmas in which the peace-builder might also be involved (2002:215). Warfield proposes that ethical dilemmas in a peacebuilding situation are quite similar to those found in interpersonal conflict situations (ibid: 215) and offers four stages for peace-builders to resolve ethical dilemmas;

- (i) *Stage one* involves the peace-builder to pause and process the dilemma internally before moving forward.
- (ii) *Stage two* involves reflecting over the dilemma, in which the peace-builder compares the situation with his own set of ethics.
- (iii) *Stage three* involves sharing the dilemma with others and,
- (iv) *Stage four* involves determining options and selecting solutions, by considering questions such as, ‘how strongly the peace-builder holds personal value at stake, how sharply it diverges from the value held by the general profession, and the peace-builder’s knowledge of what other have done in similar situations’ (ibid: 218-221).

### **3. STATE OF THE ART REVIEW**

#### **3.1 Structure and aesthetics of interactive documentary**

In understanding the structure and aesthetics of interactive documentary, a starting point would be to get an understanding of new media, which can help in differentiate interactive documentary from traditional documentary. In this section I discuss the concept of new media, its emergence and principles; the convergence of cinema and new media which led to the emergence of interactive cinema. For the purpose of this research, interactive documentary is taken as a subset of interactive cinema, although other approaches could also be taken.

##### **3.1.1 Emergence and principles of new media**

Within the field of interactive media, I consider Manovich's (2001) definition of new media, which refers to all computer-mediated forms of communication, which include production, acquisition, manipulation, storage and distribution (2001: 43). Manovich draws upon the emergence of new media as a convergence of the two historical trajectories of computing and media technologies, which started with Babbage's Analytical Engine and Daguerre's daguerreotype in 1830s. Later, in 1936, Konrad Zuse, built the first working digital computer and one of Zuse's innovations was program control by punched tape. While cinema recorded images on celluloid, the computer stored data electronically in a binary code. The superimposition, of the binary code over the iconic code, according to Manovich, symbolizes the convergence of the two historical trajectories of media and computer that merged into one.

This implies the translation of all material forms of modern media such as photographic plate, film stock, gramophone record, into numerical data accessible for computers resulted in new media: graphics, moving images, sounds, shapes, spaces and text which become computable, i.e. another set of computer data - making media, new media. This convergence changed the identity of media and the computer, transforming a computer into 'a media processor' (ibid: 43-48)

Manovich outlines five principles of new media objects, which resulted from computerization

- 1) Firstly, new media objects, are composed of digital code; they are numerical representations - hence are subject to algorithmic manipulations, which implies that media is programmable.
- 2) The second principle is modularity; new media objects possess the same modular structure throughout i.e. they consist of independent parts, which in turn consist of smaller independent part, and so on. It is the modular structure of new media objects that makes deletion or substitution of media parts a simplistic process.
- 3) The third principle is automation. Numerical coding and modular structure of media objects allow automation of many operations involved in the process of media creation, manipulation and access.
- 4) The fourth principle is variability; new media objects are variable. Since new media object are digital code and modular, their form can change and they can exist in different versions. Old media objects involved a human creator

assembling media elements in a particular order or determined sequence, which would form a master and numerous identical copies were generated from it. New media objects enable many different versions rather than identical copies and instead of being created completely by a human author; a computer in part automatically assembles them. Media elements are stored digitally rather than a fixed form; they maintain their separate identities and can thus be assembled into numerous sequences under program control. Some examples that are indicative of variability principle are media databases, multiple interfaces of the same data, customization of media composition based on user information, menu-based interactive media, hypermedia, periodic updates, and scalability and so on.

- 5) The last principle is transcoding; transcoding something is to translate it into another format. Transcoding, describes the process in which media objects are translated into other formats, specifically digital formats (ibid: 49-65)

While explaining the logic of new media, he contrasts it with the logic of modern media, which followed the factory logic of the industrial revolution driven by assembly line system - that relied on standardization and separation of production process, involving sets of repetitive, sequential and similar activities. A media object was assembled in a media factory; when a 'new model' was introduced, like a film or photograph etc, numerous identical copies were produced from the master and distributed to the citizens. In this society, everybody was supposed to enjoy the *same* goods- and have the same beliefs. Broadcasting, cinema, print media, all media technologies followed the same logic. New media on the contrary, follows the logic of post-industrial society, which

values individuality and conformity; of ‘production on demand’ and ‘just in time’ delivery (which were made possible by the use of computers and computer networks in all stages of manufacturing and distribution). According to Manovich (2002: 60-62) In a post-industrial society, every citizen can construct his own custom lifestyle and ‘select’ his ideology from a large number of choices. Media technologies rather than pushing their objects / information to a mass audience, target them individually. The logic of new media technology reflects this new social logic. For example, every user gets a customized version of the web page he visits, every hypertext reader gets his own version of the text based on his path selection, and a user of an interactive installation gets his own version of the work and so on. New media objects assure users that their choices — and therefore, their underlying thoughts and desires — are unique, rather than pre-programmed and shared with others.

### 3.1.2 Introduction to interactive documentary

Cinema as an old media technology has the same principles as new media objects (Manovich 2001: 66). New media objects are digital representations, which is discrete and consists of a limited number of samples and cinema is based on sampling of time (i.e. twenty four times a second). Cinema samples continuous time of human existence into discrete frames. New media objects share the same digital code, which allows different media types to be displayed using one machine i.e. a computer. Cinema similarly combines different media types as image, text, sound etc. Finally, new media allows for random access, where any digitized data (for example representation of time) is easily accessed, managed, analyzed and manipulated (ibid: 66-67). Although cinema is not new

media (ibid: 66), computerization has led to the development of new and varied forms, structures, production and distribution techniques of cinema. With computerization, these emergent forms of cinema break away from the conventions of traditional cinema.

With the convergence of cinema and new media, new forms of cinematic conventions altered the art form, in its ways of organizing audio-visual narratives, its ways of presenting this to the audience, its ways of storing media content and how human experience is structured while accessing the same. Interactive cinema refers to this emergent form of computational cinema, which 'reflects the longing of cinema to become something new, something more complex and something more personal, as if in conversation with an audience' (Davenport 1995), offering a wide spectrum of affordances in relation to its linear counter part.

Traditionally, cinema in its linear form has held its fixed notions of framing reality, narrative structures, temporality, and spatial fixity of montage, its physical interface and audience interaction. Interactive cinema breaks away from the restraints of these preset provisos and challenges the hegemonic relationship of this medium and its author, with its audience who create versus consume media (Wilson 1994). The dynamicity of its affordances opens new vistas for audiences' reception, interaction and participation, thereby re-structuring the human experience whilst accessing the media content. The structural and compositional aesthetics of interactive cinemas are varied, multifaceted and complex. It has its own conventions of multiple framing, deconstructed and distributed narrative, shattered temporal continuity, new spatio-temporal architectures, and the new



‘language of interactivity’ (Davenport 1996) transforming the ‘audience into editor and inhabitants of virtual worlds’ (Rieser and Zapp 2002: xxv).

These new dynamics of interactive cinema (or documentary) have many advantages in comparison to its counterpart, i.e. traditional cinema. My research seeks to explore these potentials of interactive documentary within the domain of peacebuilding. For such utilization, it is important to understand the complex process of peacebuilding, which I discuss in the next section.

### **3.2 Concept of peace and peacebuilding**

The term ‘peace’ is multi-faceted; as a concept, it has varied dimensions and meanings to different individuals, different cultures and different contexts. In contemporary peace research, the definition of peace conceptualized by Johan Galtung, who is accredited as the founder of peace studies, is widely accepted. Galtung initially defined peace as absence of direct, cultural and structural violence, i.e. peace being a combination of direct peace, structural peace and cultural peace (1996: 24). *Direct violence* involves observable acts by one party that are intended to cause hurt and inflict injury and damage upon another. *Cultural violence* refers to damage inflicted during upbringing or rearing that has resulted in people becoming incapable of fulfilling their potential as creative human beings, where their potential as human beings has been constrained and their autonomy restricted in a way similar to that of someone physically assaulted. It also refers to cultural systems that overtly or tacitly condone violence. *Structural violence* refers to ways in which people are damaged and prevented from fulfilling their human capital, by

the dominant institutions and structural patterns of political power, wealth distribution, food distribution, etc where the agent of violence is the system (e.g. capitalism, patriarchy, industrialism). Galtung later redefined peace as '*what we have when creative conflict transformation can take place non-violently*'. In this definition the term peace embodies the characteristics of a system, whether it is a family, small group or a society; one which enables destructive violent conflicts to be transformed along constructive and creative channels by non-violent means (ibid: 24-36).

Peace can further be designated as *positive peace* and *negative peace*, as mentioned earlier on. Galtung (1969) proposed a definition of 'positive peace' or a state of 'social justice', that can be realized in the 'absence of structural violence', with the prevalence of attributes such as integration, cooperation, harmony etc. In contrast, when peace is defined as absence of direct violence of all kinds, it refers to negative peace (Galtung 1969). Galtung's concept transformed the term from being something static to something more dynamic, in which peace is 'what we have when creative conflict transformation can take place non-violently'.

Galtung coined the term peacebuilding in the 1970s, which received greater prominence when former UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali's used the term in his *An Agenda for Peace* (1992; 1995). Boutros-Ghali defined 'peacebuilding' in *An Agenda for Peace*, as 'action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict' (1995: 11). This concept was specifically linked with post-conflict societies and the need to prevent a recurrence of

violence. It describes the term in a broad range of local, regional, national and international initiatives intended to promote peace. It often requires massive efforts to enable the return and resettlement of internally displaced people and refugees, the reconstruction of infrastructures and buildings, the rebuilding of economic life, social networks and institutions, legal systems and politics. Adam Curle (1971), another researcher, calls for the establishment of a social order, which is characterized by ‘peaceful relationships’, that concerns moving unpeaceful relationships to peaceful ones (1971: 1). An unpeaceful relationship is one in which either or both of the parties are damaged, possibly through physical violence, and also in economic or psychological ways. Damage can arise not only from armed conflict, but also in any situation where people suffer as a result of the nature of the relationship. ‘Unpeacefulness is a situation in which human beings are impeded from achieving full development either because of their own internal relations or because of the types of relation that exist between themselves’. In a similar tradition as Curle, Assefa (1993) suggests that peacebuilding requires ‘reconciliation politics’, which is politics of co-operation, encouraging the building of consensus and looking for common ground. It is about seeking not to ‘exclude but to include’ and a reordering of relationships within society (1993: 31).

### **3.3 Media assistance in peacebuilding**

Media assistance in peacebuilding as mentioned earlier, encompass a wide range of activities that include journalism as well as entertainment programmes. Amongst all these

forms of media assistance, journalism plays a crucial role as it is at the forefront of peacebuilding initiatives. Over the recent years, journalistic interventions have deviated from conventional norms of journalism and new forms of journalistic interventions have evolved. These initiatives can be broadly categorized as conventional and unconventional journalism. For the purpose of my research, it is important to analyse these conventions, so as to understand which form of journalistic intervention is best suited for developing the interactive documentary as a peacebuilding tool.

Media according to Howard (2002a: 1) is a double-edged sword. It can be a destructive weapon of violence when it propagates intolerance and disinformation to manipulate public sentiment. In Burundi for example, the *Burundian press* not only reflected the deep ethnic rivalry and divisions but also promoted it actively, generating mutual terror and distrust based on historical fears (Rich 1997: 63). One of the worst examples of this is the case of *Radio Miles*, in Rwanda, 1994. Radio Miles used a blend of entertainment, and proselytizing by announcers to propagate fear and resentment in one group of people against the other and was largely instrumental in the Rwandan genocide (Howard 2002a: 1). Media can also be a threat to peace settlement processes. Former BBC correspondent Gordon Adam (2003) remarks that most peace settlements such as the Oslo peace Accord in the Middle East and the Dayton Accord that ended the Bosnian war, have all taken place as far as possible from the media. It can be 'keen to pounce on any indiscreet or conciliatory remarks by negotiators and publish them without any thought of consequence', as seen in the case of Northern Ireland where the peace negotiations were derailed (Adam and Holguin 2003: 1).

In many cases, media is not generally seen as being helpful to peace-builders; however, it has the capacity to influence and impact peacebuilding processes (ibid: 7). Howard (2002) states that media has become so pervasive that it is like air, it is available in the darkest of places and media has the capacity to alter social and political behaviour to help resolve conflicts, almost as effectively as it can enflame conflict. With increasing availability of cheap technology, media has the ability to reach large populations in most societies and its power to resolve or prevent conflict cannot be ignored (2002: 5). It has a heavy influence upon perceptions of conflicts and thus plays a crucial role in influencing the ability and readiness to support peacebuilding initiatives (Spurk 2002: 4).

In peacebuilding, journalism includes many activities; besides news journalism or news agency journalism, it covers all activities conducted by journalists, reporters and editors. These include all types and formats of reporting such as larger stories, analysis, background features, comments and opinions; editing such as selection of news and controlling; and designing programmes, which include different formats, series, and supplements (Spurk 2002: 1).

### 3.3.1. Conventional Journalism

According to Howard (2002), conventional journalism, which professes neutrality and personal disengagement, is enormously important in reducing conflicts if it maintains accuracy, reliability and impartiality. It can help by providing early warnings of potential outbreaks or renewal of violent conflicts, serve as a watchdog over leaders, monitor

human rights and foster human security. It can further help by providing opportunity for diverse opinions and enabling people to make well-informed choices (2002: 1).

For conflict resolution and peacebuilding however, the need for media assistance and intervention goes beyond the norms of conventional journalism. Traditionally, conventional journalism professes objectivity and does not intervene in the events or take responsibility for the impact of the media coverage. In response to this sense of objectivity in Western media, Howard (2002) says, '*The refrain at least in the English-speaking Western media is that we are supposed to remain clinically neutral in our work -- taking no sides, and being professionally and personally non-involved. Thus, we report on conflict without motive, as if it were a football game*' (2002: 1). In the recent years, this argument about objectivity versus intention has been subjected to an intense debate in the Western media circles. The debate emerged with the coverage of the Balkan conflict, when journalists such as BBC Correspondents Martin Bell and Nik Gowling, National Public Radio's Tom Geltjen and few others, seriously questioned the role and the impact of their coverage. Bell who was particularly distressed by the early stages of the conflict, felt that the Western media stood idle and reported the killings with all objectivity like covering a football match. A conflict, according to Howard (2002), is a special case, and it requires intentional commitment to provide more than a mechanical response in reporting it (2002: 2).

This ongoing debate is pertinent to my research because, journalism as mentioned earlier, remains at the forefront of peacebuilding initiatives. To develop an interactive

documentary as a peacebuilding tool, it is important for me to distinguish which convention of journalism I contend with and which type of journalism is most suited for peacebuilding. For advocates of objectivity, the prevalent argument is that journalists cannot intervene in events or take responsibility for the impact of their professed objectivity, therefore their involvement in conflict resolution or peacebuilding cannot be debated. In '*Witnessing the Truth*' BBC correspondent David Loyn (2003) states that good journalism is about upholding what he perceives as traditional values, such as fairness, objectivity and balance. In his view, journalists and correspondents are witnesses and not actors, outside of events who are pursuing truth and what happens should be reported with imagination and appropriate scepticism (Loyn 2003). One can observe the same rhetoric of objectivity in the field of conventional journalism that is prevalent in the traditional form of documentary making, and just as the claims of objectivity have been challenged in documentary making, this view has increasingly been challenged in the Western media circle as well. In response to Lyon's (2003) argument, journalists such as Jake Lynch (2007) emphasise that there are many truths and Freedman (2003) questions the validity of Lyon's concept when he asks '*Witnessing whose truth?*' Further, Hannes Siebert (1998) states that it is unreasonable to expect journalists to consider themselves standing outside of an event, in a no-man's land of objectivity, while never openly embracing either their own or others' humanity. It is unreasonable to show a mirror to society without conveying anything about the greater context in which the reported events occur (1988: 31).

This criticism about objectivity goes back as far as 1937, when Leo Rosten, as quoted by Richard Harwood (1997) said ‘*Objectivity in journalism is no more possible than objectivity in dreams. What the newspaperman tells, what he considers worth telling, and how he tells it are the end products of the social heritage...and a psychological construct of desire, calculation, and inhibition*’. One of the strongest arguments against objectivity is that of Herbert Matthews of the *New York Times*. Knightley (2004) quotes Matthews, who states in the context of the Civil War in Spain that ‘I would always opt for honest, open bias. A newspaperman should work with his heart as well as his mind’ (2004: 208).

Objectivity, according to Baggini (2003), is a matter of degree and about minimizing the extent to which our beliefs and accounts depend upon our particular localized and subjective viewpoints. Further, as Bagdikian (2004) points, different individuals writing about the same scene never produce precisely the same account.

Objectivity, I would agree with Howard’s (2002) view, is a myth. All journalists unconsciously manipulate the story by the choices they make and the way they frame the story. Every journalist has an angle and a particular approach on every story; who they speak to, the image they convey, the background they draw upon and what cultural values they reflect. Hence, ‘all our work is subjective, to some extent. At best, our reporting is balanced and accurate. However, the angles we take, driven by our culture and by our editors, often *displace* the best intentions’ (2002: 1). Contrary to Lyon (2003), Schechter (2003a) sees journalists as players in the world that they report on, rather than outsiders. He argues that journalist cannot abandon their values or social conscience and have to



take some measure of responsibility for the impact their work has, as do media companies. Hammond (2002: 1) states that journalists operating on subjective modes of journalism see themselves as active and responsible participants in the world. 'Journalists might do more to examine how conflicts could be resolved rather than focus on the blood and gore' (Schechter: 2003). This understanding is reflected in Nik Gowing's (1999) interview, a couple of weeks after covering the East Timor crisis, in 1999, when he states 'A lot of our colleagues are now if you like beginning to feel that they can and should take a degree of moral high ground at certain points and I think it's quite understandable' (World in Focus 1999).

In my research, I further consider Hannes Siebert's (2003) point, that journalists' own ability to reflect upon events is also affected by the medium that is used, such as television, radio, print or the Internet, as well as their own worldview and sense of responsibility towards the people that are being reported about (2003: 31). Their ability to represent and reflect upon events is also influenced by the constraints of the medium they use. Knightley (2004) mentions about the WWI correspondents who acted as propagandists. They presented the world with a very distorted picture of the true situation, and 'saved their protests for the memoirs they published after the war' (2004: 103). This trend of journalists publishing their personal accounts of relatively recent world events in independent publications has continued. These accounts which are sometimes compelling impressions of journalist's experience of the event, are conveyed beyond the scope of their professional responsibilities. Some examples worth mentioning include South African journalist Rian Malan's book, *My Traitor's Heart* (1985). As a

politically active journalist, Malan insisted on providing a balanced perspective of events. His book provides an honest and insightful account of the Apartheid era from varied dimensions. Journalist Samantha Power's book *A problem from hell* (2002) provides an account of US policy failures in the context of major conflicts in the recent history. Similarly, African-American journalist, Howard French's (2003) *A Continent for the Taking* conveys a more integrated view on the African situation over time, than what is actually presented in the mainstream media publications. In *News From No Man's Land* (2002), BBC correspondent John Simpson provides an articulate and insightful account of his experiences as a foreign correspondent in Pakistan and Afghanistan, along with an expose of different facets of television news media and journalism. In *The War Against Saddam: Taking the Hard Road to Baghdad* (2004), Simpson provides an emotional yet a balanced account of war and politics in Iraq while covering the war. Such publications actually contradict Lyon's (2003) argument that the 'the viewer or listener does not want to know how I feel, but how people feel on the ground'. In view of the ongoing debate between objectivity and subjectivity, it can also be inferred that 'these journalists' independent accounts and memoirs are an attempt to fill the gap between their actual reporting of events as journalists and how they wished they had been able to report differently on their experiences at that time (Fröhlich 2006). In other words, how they actually reported the incidents with objectivity and how they would have liked to report differently at that time with subjectivity.

To conclude this contention for critics who argue against subjective forms of media intervention, I would agree with Howard (2002: 10), who underscores a quotation by

Robert Karl Manoff, the director of *the Centre for War, Peace and the News Media* at New York University. Manoff says, *‘those who profess so-called objective journalism insist they cannot intervene in events they are covering, nor take any responsibility for what happens. But does anyone really believe that the professional norms of journalism rate higher than fundamental human, moral obligations to end conflict?’* Howard (2002) further asserts that ‘we should face facts. Journalism can be destructive of a community, or it can be powerfully constitutive. However, it cannot be both. As institutionalised bystanders, which are what they are, traditional journalists are contributing to the violence of the world’ (2002: 10). In a similar vein, William Bernbach (c 2006) states, ‘All of us who professionally use the mass media are the shapers of society. We can vulgarize that society. We can brutalize it. Or we can help lift it onto a higher level (Media strategies c 2006). In the wake of these ideologies, the need for using unconventional journalistic interventions for peacebuilding is imperative. As a documentary filmmaker, I contend with the use of objectivity in representing reality, however, the need for peacebuilding requires subjective modes of intervention. While I foresee my struggle in bringing about a balance between these two needs; for effective use of interactive cinema (or interactive documentary) as a peacebuilding tool, it must use the tenets of unconventional journalism. In the following section, I analyse the principles and types of unconventional journalistic interventions used for peacebuilding.

### 3.3.2 Unconventional journalism

The phrase ‘the journalism of attachment’ was coined by Martin Bell (1997), who increasingly practiced a form of journalism that was more interested in reporting about

the victims of the conflict and the causes of the war, rather than the mere mechanics of the war. Bell's (1997) method encourages a form of journalism that 'cares as well as knows, that is aware of its responsibilities and will not stand neutrally between victim and the oppressor' (1997: 8). His intention was to stimulate a change that would end the conflict. According to Bell, journalism can make a difference in the world; hence, reporters should try to make a difference where they can (ibid 11). This form of media that works specifically for peacebuilding goes beyond conventional journalism. Howard (2002) provides a distinction between conventional and unconventional journalism and states that the latter focuses on the effect of media rather than the mere presence of news media outlets and their practices. Here the media aims to communicate information that turns public sentiment towards resolution of conflict and functions as a facilitator of positive social change, as opposed to a professional, disinterested observer. The overall intention is to achieve a synergy between the communication skills of media professionals and the people-centred approaches of conflict resolution (2002: 5-6). Media that are sensitive towards the task of promoting tolerant and diverse viewpoints can be both informative as well as entertaining and have a large potential audience' (Botes 1996: 6). Howard (2002) remarks that there are 'media-smart' people who are doing some very impressive, unconventional journalism to ease conflict, and their techniques deserve more attention (2002: 2).

In my research I refer to Howard's (2002a) '*An operational framework for media and peacebuilding*', which documents opportunities to strengthen the media as an element of conflict reduction and peacebuilding. In the framework, Howard (2002) illustrates a

spectrum or a typology of five types of media, which can contribute to conflict resolution (Howard 2002: 9).

Figure 9: Typology of five types of media for peacebuilding by Ross Howard (IMPACS 2002a)

These provide template for how media-related interventions can be used in a variety of conflict conditions, along with some exceptional examples of media peacebuilding initiatives.

*Type 1*- According to Howard (2002), is termed as rudimentary journalism training, addresses unskilled, inaccurate, conflict-obsessed or highly partisan media. It aims to overcome journalism that lacks competency, diversity, freedom and technology. A successful example is IMPACS *Cambodia Radio Journalists' project* (IMPACS 1998), which aimed at strengthening democracy and the peacebuilding process by assisting in the development of a more independent, accountable and open radio media, in a highly subjective and fractious media environment in Cambodia. The project enabled more voices being heard, different viewpoints being shared and initiated a dialogue between the Cambodian government and its citizens (2002: 26).

Figure 10: (Type 1) - A reporter with FM 105, the radio station run by the Women's Media Centre, on assignment in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (Howard 2002a: 6)

*Type 2-* goes beyond basic journalism and focuses on skills like investigative, exploratory, specialist and analytical reporting. This aims to stimulate conflict resolution processes and uphold democratic governance. An example is *The Philippine Centre for Investigative Journalism* ([www.pcij.org](http://www.pcij.org)), which produces and provides, at cost, in-depth investigative reports to the local and national media. Accuracy and balance are primary concerns, to reduce opportunities for suppression (Howard 2002a: 16).

*Type 3-* this type is termed as transitional journalism, which is located between traditional and pro-active uses of media. Here the journalists are encouraged to consciously examine

their role in conflict resolution and redefine what is newsworthy to better inform and encourage reconciliation and also foster dialogue between conflicting sides. Some professionals and theorists aptly call this type of work as *peace journalism*, which reflects the dual nature of their work as journalists with conflict resolution as one of their recognized values. Other suggested terms by McGoldrick (2000) include, conflict analysis journalism, holistic- or change journalism, as well as ethical- or post realist journalism.

Figure 11: Type 3- Radio reporter interviewing refugees in Palu, Central Sulawesi, Indonesia; Journalists in Indonesia have collaborated with Lynch and McGoldrick in training dialogues about Peace Journalism. Photograph by Jake Lynch (ACTIVATE 2001: 7)

This type of media work addressed in the principles of peace journalism is undeniably, most contentious and goes against the grain of conventional journalism that professes objectivity (Howard 2002 26-27).

*Type 4-* is pro-active media-based intervention, which is designed for a specific audience and purpose and is often a product of peacekeeping force or a non-governmental organization. It is often in a conflict or post conflict environment, such as media intended to counter hate propaganda or refugee reunification (Howard 2002: 26-27).

Figure 12: Type 4- IDP campaign television slot, Nepal, December 2006

One such example of media intervention is a three-week public information campaign on the issue of IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) in Nepal, December 2006, which was launched by OHCHR (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights), the OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) and UNHR (United Nations Human Rights). The campaign had two main messages; that IDPs in Nepal come



from all political and social backgrounds and that all IDPs have the right to safe, dignified and sustainable return, if they wished to do so. The main tool of the campaign was a one-minute TV spot and a radio version of the same in six regional languages (United nations 2006).

*Type 5-* finally, is what Howard (2002) calls '*intended outcome programming*, which is often produced by non-governmental organizations and involves content with a specific purpose. Here the media content is designed to stimulate dialogue and foster peace and reconciliation. For such kind of media usage, the formats of programming can range from conventional news-casts with a different focus, to popular music or soap operas or children's entertainment that attract audiences to the conciliatory message, and to unconventional media such as street theatre or posters, and to new technologies like the Internet and the World Wide Web (Howard 2002: 26-27). There are several non-governmental organizations that are dedicated to this purpose and engage in long and short-term process of conflict transformation, primarily through media-related projects. *Search for Common Ground* (SFCG), an American NGO founded in 1982, is one of the oldest organizations that are dedicated to harnessing the power of media for peace and progress.

Figure 13: Type-5-Search for Common Ground's popular kid's TV show- Nashe Maalo, Macedonia (Search for Common Ground 2004: 1)

Search for Common Ground production's *Nashe Maalo (Our neighbourhood)* is one of the most successful intended outcome programming media projects that specifically focuses on strengthening inter-ethnic relations and reducing social tension in Macedonia. *Nashe Maalo* uses a mix of film and animation to tell a story that involves five children from different ethnic backgrounds, living in the same apartment block. This example is especially of interest to my research for its impact analysis, which could potentially help in formulating how to assess the impact of the interactive documentary created for peacebuilding. A detailed analysis of *Nashe Maalo* will follow in the section 'Media peacebuilding projects'.

Following this typology of the five types of media that contribute towards peacebuilding, the two types that are most relevant to my research are type 3 and type 5. In type 3 media intervention, which can also be ascribed as peace journalism, the 'journalists *consciously examine* their role in conflict resolution and *redefine what is newsworthy* to better *inform and encourage reconciliation* and also *foster dialogue* between conflicting sides'. In other words, here the process of gathering content (or news) is driven by what can inform and encourage reconciliation and foster dialogue between conflicting sides (Howard 2002: 9). In type 5 media intervention, also known as '*intended outcome programming*', *the content is made for a specific purpose; it is designed to stimulate dialogue and foster peace and reconciliation*'. In other words, here the content is 'made' or 'designed' (not gathered like in type 3), in a way that can seek to achieve a certain outcome from the audience. In view of these two forms of media intervention for peacebuilding, it is my effort to integrate these with the process of creating the interactive documentary. Hence, I

would seek to apply the principles of peace journalism for the process of gathering content and the principles of intended outcome programming for designing (and presenting) the interactive documentary to the audience.

Coming back to the debate about using objective journalism versus unconventional or subjective forms of journalism, Manoff (cited by Howard 2002: 10), argues that moral obligations to end conflict rate higher than the pursuit of objectivity, while Howard emphasises that using unconventional journalism is the way forward for peacebuilding as traditional journalism is contributing to the violence in the world. Along with these contentions, there are additional rationales for using unconventional modes of journalism that are becoming more and more pertinent in the current stream of global violence. In the heart of this debate lies the question whether a journalist should essentially be someone who observes dispassionately or someone who participates with emotional involvement.

Emotional involvement in journalism however, has varied dimensions and is not restricted as an ideology for media professionals using subjective modes of journalism. Even within the ideology of war journalism, the *personally involved* war correspondents have been considered an iconic feature of war journalism, posing a somewhat paradoxical component with the very ideology of objectivity. Greg McLaughlin (2002) in *The War Correspondent*, states that war journalist James Cameron has been cited by many journalists as an inspiration in their work, who actually argued that truth was more important than objectivity and that the ‘the reporter whose technique was informed by no

opinion lacked a very serious dimension' (2002: 162). There are several testimonies in the history of war journalism where war journalists have not only been emotionally involved but also emotionally challenged, much to their resistance in pursuit of the 'ideals of a certain macho culture' (Nicholson 1997: 10). Knightley (2000) quotes William Howard Russell, the first acknowledged war correspondent, who expresses his emotional experience in relation to the Civil War in Spain, 'I was so much overcome by what I saw that I could not remain where the fight had been closest and deadliest. I longed to get away from it.... It was now that the weight of the task I had accepted fell on my soul like lead' (2000: 8). Knightley (2000) further states that 'no other war in recent times, with the possible exception of Vietnam, aroused such intense emotion, such deep commitment, such violent partisanship as the Civil War in Spain' (ibid: 207). In the comparatively recent Yugoslavian Wars, especially the Bosnian War, Loyd (2002) states that the coverage of these wars was accompanied with high levels of emotions (2002: 112). Moreover, Bell (1997), who was distressed with the Balkan conflict, has often explained that when he coined the term journalism of 'attachment', he merely defined a trend in the working method of journalism that had already been established (1997: 10; 2003: 163). Finally, Tumber and Prentoulis (2003) posit that the amount of mourning executed through ritualized journalism in the American press after 11 September, opened for a more emotional journalism and a general call for 'a more human face in war reporting' (2003: 227).

One can observe, on the one hand, a form of emotional involvement that arises due to emotionally challenging situations and plays at an *intrapersonal level*, such as being

emotionally charged or traumatized. On the other hand, there are theorists and journalists who emphasize the need for journalists to be emotionally involved within the context of the conflict that they are involved in, at an *interpersonal level*, for the greater good, such as peacebuilding. At this point, I cannot resist quoting Herbert Matthews for the second time, when he said a newspaperman ‘should work with his heart as well as his mind’ (Knightley 2004: 208). It is in this context that I would like to introduce the concept of emotional intelligence, which said simply, is a popular term of reference for an optimal psychological state within an individual and their interaction with their environment (Fröhlich 2005).

Gabriele Fröhlich (2005), a medical practitioner, psychotherapist and a conflict mediation coach draws upon the relationship between emotional intelligence and journalism, and establishes the benefits of linking the relatively new fields of emotional intelligence and peace journalism (Type 3 form of media intervention as proposed by Howard). An understanding of this relationship is of pertinence to my research for primarily two reasons. Firstly, it is acknowledged that the media world is increasingly recognising the traumatizing effects certain journalistic activities can have on the psyche of media people. Journalists, especially war correspondents are increasingly considered at risk of being emotionally traumatized as a result of experiencing and witnessing emotionally challenging situations in the course of their work. In addition, they are less likely to be trained in recognising the effects of traumatizing on themselves and when they need to seek help (Fröhlich 2005).

Apart from journalists, this issue is also pertinent to documentary makers, peace activists and peace workers, who not only work with emotionally challenging subjects and situations during the course of their work but have also been subjected to life threatening situations and targeted. Documentary filmmaker Ewa Ewart (2005) mentions in relation to the making of '*Children of Beslan*' that 'I don't remember anything more emotionally challenging and testing than making this film; not even the experience of the war zone can compare to that' (Brayne 2005). In *Shake Hands with the Devil* (2003), General Dallaire, the commander of the UN Peace keeping force in Rwanda, accounts the emotional charge of frustration and traumatizing experiences he witnessed during the Rwandan genocide. Further, for peace activists the issue of human security has increasingly become a major concern in peace research academic circles. Within the context of my own research, the issues of conflict that I seek to address through the interactive documentary might put forth emotionally challenging situations for me during the course of gathering content. An understanding of the concept of emotional intelligence and its significance in journalism can help media people have an *increased awareness* (at an intrapersonal and an interpersonal level) about reporting styles and journalistic conventions, which will influence the overall media production, which will in turn have an impact on the audience in different contexts (Fröhlich 2006a). Further, as a media practitioner, who aims to use the principles of peace journalism for content gathering of the interactive documentary that I seek to develop, an understanding of this relationship will certainly contribute to the process. In the following section, I provide a theoretical analysis of emotional intelligence and draw upon its significance and application in journalism.

### 3.3.3 Emotional intelligence in journalism

In this section, I review the literature surrounding emotional intelligence (E.I) and describe the construct of E.I, by reviewing the three prevalent models of the construct as conceptualized by Salovey & Mayer (1990), Goleman (1997) and Bar-On (1997; 2005). In this section, I further discuss Fröhlich's (2005) understanding of the significance and application of emotional intelligence in journalism.

#### 3.3.3.1. Concept of emotional intelligence...

The notion that there are different types of intelligence, came into existence with psychologist E.L Thorndike's notion that humans possess several types of intelligence, one of them being social intelligence, which is the ability to understand and manage humans and to act wisely in human relations (Thorndike 1920). Later, Howard Gardener (1983), a developmental psychologist proposed a theory of multiple intelligence, according which individuals possess aptitudes in several areas including intrapersonal (the examination and knowledge of one's own feelings) and interpersonal (the ability to read the moods, intentions and desires of others) spheres (Myers 1998). Early theorists like Thorndike and Gardner paved way for current theorists in *emotional intelligence* such as Peter Salovey and John Mayer who were the first to coin the term in their published writings in 1990 and defined the term as 'the subset of social intelligence' (Salovey and Mayer 1990: 189). The concept of emotional intelligence later came to prominence with Daniel Goleman's bestseller *Emotional Intelligence* (EQ) in 1995.

The widely accepted definition of emotional intelligence proposed by Salovey and Mayer (1990) is ‘the ability to perceive emotion, integrate emotion to facilitate thought, understand emotions, and to regulate emotions to promote personal growth (Mayer and Salovey 1997: 1). To elaborate these further, emotional perception, according to Mayer and Salovey, is the ability to be self-aware of emotions and to express emotions and emotional needs accurately to others. Emotional assimilation is the ability to distinguish among the different emotions one is feeling and to identify those that are influencing their thought processes. Emotional understanding is the ability to understand complex emotions and recognize transitions from one to the other. Finally, emotion management is the ability to connect or disconnect from an emotion depending on its usefulness in a given situation (ibid: 1-2).



Figure 14: Mayer and Salovey's (1997) Four-Branch Model of Emotional Intelligence  
(Stys and Blown 2004: 6)

According to psychologist Daniel Goleman, EQ is the ability to recognize and regulate emotions in others and us. Goleman's model outlines four main emotional intelligence components. The first, self-awareness, is the ability to read one's emotions and recognize their impact while using gut feelings to guide decisions. The second, self-management involves controlling one's emotions and impulses and adapting to changing circumstances. The third, social awareness is the ability to sense, understand, and react to other's emotions while comprehending social networks. Finally, relationship

management, which is the ability to inspire, influence, and develop others while managing conflict (Goleman 1998). According to Goleman, EQ, which is distinct from standard intelligence, is a prerequisite for effectively using one's IQ (Goleman 1997:14), it can be 'as powerful and at times more powerful, than IQ (ibid: 34).

Figure 15: Goleman's (2001) Emotional Intelligence Competencies (Stys and Blown 2004: 15)

Finally, I would like to quote Reuven Bar-On (1997), the director of the Institute of Applied Intelligences, Denmark, who developed one of the first measures of emotional intelligence and used the term 'Emotion Quotient'. Bar-On's understanding is slightly different and defines emotional intelligence as being concerned with understanding oneself and others, relating to people, and adapting to and coping with the immediate surroundings to be more successful in dealing with environmental demands. Bar-On's model outlines five components of emotional intelligence: intrapersonal, interpersonal,

adaptability, stress management, and general mood. The model focuses on an array of emotional and social abilities that include the abilities to be aware of, understand and express oneself, relate to others, deal with strong emotions and adapt to change and solve problems of a social or personal nature (Bar-On 1997: 1).

To summarize, emotional intelligence can be ascribed as a term of reference for an optimal psychological state within an individual and their interaction with their environment. At this point, I would also like to mention that empirical evidence that support the existence of a separate and measurable emotional intelligence is ambiguous and developing; hence there are arguments against the legitimacy of the concept of emotional intelligence. However, within the context of my research, I will not consider these arguments for further analysis. Despite these measurement obstacles, the evidence in favour of emotional intelligence is accumulating and it predicts success in important domains, among them are personal and work relationships (Salovey and Grewal 2005: 281). Regarding its applicability in everyday living, research findings show that emotional intelligence can have a significant impact on various aspects of everyday living but its usefulness has been most frequently documented in professional work places. A strong interest in the professional applications of emotional intelligence is apparent in the way organizations such as The American Society for Training and Development, have embraced emotional intelligence ideas (Stys and Brown 2004: 33-34). There are other areas such as social work practice and settings where the role of emotional intelligence is being assessed (Morrison 2004:1). Within the sphere of journalism, Fröhlich largely

draws upon Goleman's theory and other psychologists to explain the relationship and application of emotional intelligence in this field.

#### 3.3.3.2. Emotional intelligence and journalism

For the purpose of my research, I consider Fröhlich's analysis of the relationship between emotional intelligence and journalism. Fröhlich refers to Goleman's understanding of emotional intelligence, which stands for the capacity for compassion, empathy, motivation, self-awareness, altruism, appropriate response to, and distinction between pain and pleasure and to bringing energy back into flow within an individual. Fröhlich explains Goleman's analysis that the emotional and the mental capacities have their own intelligence and that they interact with each other. Emotions once experienced can become powerful motivators of future behaviour as they can have an effect on actions, attitudes and achievements. Hence the emotional brain is as involved in reasoning as the thinking brain. The intrinsic intelligence of the heart affects an individual's decision making, at the level of the brain and moves them towards a state of internal wellbeing. According to Goleman, the EQ can sometimes be more powerful than IQ (Goleman 1997: 14). In this context, Fröhlich quotes Childre (1999: 10) of the *Heart Maths Institute*, who states that a high EQ can determine success in life's challenges, notably in the context of physiological detectable stress levels. According to Childre (1999), the physiological heart has its own complex and independent nervous system, which is in a two-way communication process with the brain. Based on Lacey's findings (Childre 1999: 10-11), Childre points that the heart generates the strongest electromagnetic field produced by the body, and that a loving intention results in an exchange of

electromagnetic energy with healing effects between individuals. Hence, positive emotions such as love, care and appreciation have also been shown to increase the synchronization between the heart, brain and body within an individual (ibid: 10-11). These findings, Fröhlich (2005) argues, have important implications in the media context; both in terms of what journalists communicate in an intra-personally resourceful way, and in terms of the messages, they convey subconsciously to their audiences. Hence, applying emotional intelligence can be beneficial, both on the level of internal communication within each journalist (intra-personally) and in terms of an emotionally intelligent approach to media work (inter-personally). Following Goleman's concept of emotional intelligence, which is the ability to recognize and regulate emotions, Fröhlich (2005) analyses issues of emotional trauma in journalism and how an increased awareness and prevention of emotional trauma can lead an individual to experience a state of physiological and psychological resourcefulness, that basically defines an emotionally intelligent state at an intrapersonal level.

In analysing the prevalence and causes of emotional traumatization in journalism, Fröhlich (2005) cites William Howard Russel's (quoted by Knightley 2004: 8) impressions of the frontline combat situation, '*I was so much overcome by what I saw that ...I longed to get away from it...*' Russel's emotional response to the combat situation illustrates the fact that combat situations had a psychologically traumatizing effect on all parties involved and journalists like military personnel are potentially susceptible to disorders such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Note: PTSD requires an extreme traumatic stressor that involves direct personal experience or witnessing an event that involve injury, threatened death or death<sup>4</sup>. It is characterized by persistent re-experiencing of traumatic events

Journalists, especially war correspondents have increasingly been considered at risk of being emotionally traumatized and developing PTSD, at the same time they are less likely to be trained in recognizing these effects and when they need to seek help (Fröhlich 2005). Fröhlich mentions Feinstein's (2002) study of 140 war journalists from violent conflict zones, which investigated the extent and nature of psychopathology in them. Findings from the study indicated a higher rate of psychopathology of war correspondents in comparison with a demographically matched group of 107 non-war journalists. The study exposed that the affected correspondents generally returned constantly to working in war zones as a sustained pattern for many years. This behaviour according to Feinstein results from maladaptive strategies as part of an 'avoidance pattern' in PTSD, where seriously disturbing recollections of the witnessed events are suppressed and unconsciously circumvented, resulting in the seemingly paradoxical response of seeking out further traumatizing exposure rather than staying away from reminders of the trauma (Feinstein et al 2002). This fact actually reinforces peace journalists' contention, that war journalists are 'unhealthily addicted to violence'. A claim against which Lyon (2003), an ardent critic of peace journalism fiercely argues 'the thing that makes me most angry about the tendentious arguments of the new orthodoxy of peace journalism is the claim that reporters who cover wars are somehow unhealthily addicted to violence, putting too much of it in front of the audience'. In this regard, Fröhlich provides a neuroscientific explanation behind 'perceived excitement' in engaging in high-risk activities by journalists. A distortion of the, normally perceived,

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either in intrusive painful recollections or in dreams or avoidance of situations that trigger such recollection, numbing of general responsiveness and signs of hyper-arousal.

undesirability of stress on an intra-personal level also carries the inherent risk of physiological burn-out situation due to exhaustion of the adrenal glands. Thus, an individual may feel compelled to seek out high-risk situations in their professional life, also as a result to physiological addiction-motivation. The individual may have no conscious awareness that he is really unconsciously re-enacting an old scenario of perceiving high blood-levels of stress hormones as consistent with survival-requirement. Hence, a journalist perceiving the ‘excitement’ of engaging in high-risk activities as part of his professional duties, may, subjectively, be under the impression that he is doing what is necessary or what he enjoys. In contrast, neuroscientific research findings suggest that situations resulting in an ever- continuing production of more stress hormones in order to maintain high output levels tend to be sought out by individuals with an acquired insensitivity to them. This behaviour is thought to be the result of an adopted, perceived coping mechanism due to previous stress. One could argue that Fröhlich’s (2005) neuroscientific explanation of the unhealthy addiction and Feinstein’s (2002) findings may support Howard’s point that traditional journalism is actually contributing to violence in the world, not only by putting too much in front of the audience, but also by creating an insatiable appetite to seek more violence within journalists at an intrapersonal level.

Coming back to traumatization, in relation to emotional traumatization from images, Fröhlich quotes Mariette van der Merwe (n.d), who points to the risk of burnout and vicarious trauma for journalists and other media professionals such as newsroom editors and cameramen. Vicarious traumatization results from exposure to traumatizing film

footage or images. While the viewer, does not witness real-life trauma or atrocity, these affect like radiations, with an objective, unavoidable impact on the body and psyche (Dart Center 2006). Nael Shyoukhri (2004) for example, a Palestinian cameraman for Reuters since 1995 expresses the effects of traumatization, ‘ the images stay with you for years, and not just days or weeks... the images and memories never stop coming into my mind’ (Dart Center 2006).

Along with the high prevalence of emotional traumatization in journalism, there has also been lack of awareness and a high degree of denial of PTSD as an actual condition, which according to psychiatrist Gordon Turnbull (cited by Feinstein 2002) has been prevalent since WWI, and that ignorance about the impact of emotional trauma still prevails in the media circles. Feinstein’s study points that several journalists could actually articulate the symptoms, but they were unaware that these fitted the diagnosis of PTSD (Feinstein et al 2002). Along with ignorance, there is also a culture of silence both on the part of the journalists and the media circle, which adheres to a macho culture, where admitting emotional stress is considered unsuitable to the profession. Shyoukhri (2004) mentions a commonly reported experience of feeling profound anger as a result of others not appreciating his emotional situation or when the environment expects the affected person to deal with things ‘as a normal person’ (Dart Center 2006).

According to Feinstein (2002), for a journalist, the attraction of becoming a war correspondent is very strong and such assignments attract appraisal in the media circle, which becomes an incentive for journalists; even the possibility of experiencing



traumatizing situations do not serve as deterrents. Further, there is also the perception among individuals that refusing dangerous assignments could have adverse consequences (Dart Center 2006a), as evident from the experiences of Richard Gizbert, a London-based reporter for ABC News, who was asked to leave for refusing to cover the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars (Common Dreams 2006). These factors, Feinstein (2002) states also contribute to the sustained patterns of journalists returning to work in war zones, apart from the problem of maladaptive avoidance patterns and coping mechanism of emotional traumatization.

This form of ignorance or the silence culture and denial of emotional traumatization illustrates lack of self-awareness, which in Goleman's (1997) words reflects the denial or inability of individuals to recognize emotions. Fröhlich (2005) cites several expert views that emphasize the risk of dismissing or overlooking the actual condition of traumatized individuals and the severity of the effects of emotional traumatization and the importance of early recognition of the symptoms of traumatization at levels requiring psychological or medical attention.

Fröhlich (2005) quotes Van der Merve (2003), who states that journalists 'must expect their own pain and trauma to be reactivated by the incidents they report. If they lack such awareness and develop coping strategies, they may slip into a negative and downward pathological state. In such a case, the person's sense of objectivity may become ineffective and may have long-term alterations in cognitive schemas or mental frameworks, beliefs and assumptions about self and others. Further, Fröhlich (2005)

quotes Janoff-Bulman (1992: 4-6), who points to a condition of ‘shattered assumptions’ that sometimes affect traumatized journalists, whereby they ‘view the world as harsh and cruel, expecting the worst and having limited hope in human kindness’. In this regard, I take the example of a participant of my interactive documentary, Gabriel Vockel, a United Nations intern in the UN Clearing Mission of the Rwandan Genocide, who witnessed the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide and lost his faith in God. As a Catholic, Vockel has never been able to regain his belief and questions, ‘what is God all about, if ten thousand people go into a church, that have not done anything wrong and they pray and cry for their lives and God doesn’t seem to help them?’

With regard to the need for prevention and treatment of trauma in journalism, Fröhlich refers to experts’ views on the changing approaches to treatment of PTSD and about organizations such as the *Dart Centre for Journalism and Trauma*, which is a global resource for journalists covering trauma and violence. The director of *Dart Centre for Journalism and Trauma*, Mark Brayne (2006) stresses for a ‘legitimate awareness of the need for emotional intelligence and an emotional dimension to politics and to journalism and the human condition in the twenty-first century’ (Brayne and Frontline Club 2006). In this respect, Brayne states that training and raising awareness are of greater significance than risk assessment after the event and that there is a need for bridging the gap between journalistic organizations and psychological experts. In training and education workshops, the Dart Centre introduces questions such as what reporting war does ‘to the reporter’s soul’ and addresses issues that include ‘prevention of unnecessary post-traumatic stress responses in journalists’, ‘what constitutes good journalistic practice

in the representation of traumatic stories’, and ‘journalists’ ability to recognize and if necessary decline unsuitable opportunities’ (Dart Center 2006b). In treating trauma, Brayne (2006) contends that individual’s experiences of trauma and distress can be changed into a profound experience of meaning (Brayne and Frontline Club 2006). Fröhlich quotes Ian Palmer, an SAS doctor who served in places like Rwanda and Bosnia. According to Palmer (2004), PTSD ‘is an interaction between the individual, the event, the environment in which that event occurs...and the culture’. Palmer (2004) sees the *meaning* of the traumatizing event for an individual as more significant than the event itself (Dart Center 2006c).

Van der Merwe (cited by Fröhlich 2005), states that now salutogenic approaches with a focus on post-traumatic growth are favoured over pathogenic models that emphasize sickness and symptoms. Van der Merwe defines Salutogenesis as ‘learned resourcefulness, or the ability to use stressful situations for self-direction and growth’ even through traumatic events. Referring to Meichenbaum (1994), Van der Merwe lists salutogenic qualities as coping styles, self-efficacy, hardiness and an internal locus of control. She further quotes Matsakis (1994), who states that ‘getting better implies mobilizing inner healing and creative powers and binding up emotional wounds’ (1994: 134). Fröhlich further mentions Turnbull’s (cited by Feinstein 2002) observation, that the focus in modern trauma management approaches is on resilience, that, ‘...you can learn your way out of trauma’ and it can be transformed into a very positive outcome’ (Dart Center 2006d). For media people recovering from vicarious traumatization, Van der Merwe states that there are two important focus points within a salutogenic approach to

treatment, these are ‘seeing opportunities for positive media reporting and seeing their job as an opportunity to make a difference, i.e. create awareness about negative and extreme life events (cited by Fröhlich 2005). Van der Merwe stresses that journalists need to be aware of how they are predisposed to traumatization and consider how this may impact on them when they report on extreme events (ibid).

From these arguments, Fröhlich concludes that affected individual’s recovery needs to be assisted in an optimal way, which involves the timely recognition of symptoms and acknowledging the brain’s natural healing capacity. Healing from trauma can lead an individual to experience a state of physiological and psychological resourcefulness that also defines emotional intelligence. In this sense, Fröhlich argues that a culture change within the media profession that aspires to prevent its members from being traumatized in the course of their work, and is committed to supporting its professionals in the healing process, contributes at the same time to a changing awareness of the effects of violence and trauma in society.

These arguments along with Fröhlich’s analysis of the relationship between emotional intelligence and journalism clearly have implications for me as a documentary filmmaker. The documentary on global violence and non-violence would also encompass issues of conflict, along with issues of peace. Fröhlich’s analysis has important implications on what I as a filmmaker communicate in an intra-personally resourceful way and also in terms of the message I would convey subconsciously to my audience. In the wake of

these understandings, the points that I take into consideration for my research and for the making of my documentary include the following:

- 1) *Salovey & Meyer's concept of emotional intelligence*, along with Goleman's concept. While Fröhlich has largely referred to Goleman's concept for her analysis, in my research, I largely consider Salovey & Meyer's understanding that emotional intelligence is the ability to perceive emotion, integrate emotion to facilitate thought, understand emotions, and to regulate emotions to promote personal growth. Salovey & Meyer's four-branch model explains more explicitly about the processes involved in emotional intelligence and of these processes, the stage most pertinent to me is emotional management, which is the ability to connect or disconnect from an emotion depending on its usefulness in a given situation. An increased self-awareness of this will certainly be very useful for the making of this interactive documentary when I am involved with emotionally challenging content or visual material.

In my past experiences, while dealing with emotionally challenging content and visual material, I have often been deeply affected such that my emotional response to such experiences or witnessing such experiences have interfered with my working with the content. As an example, I can quote my experience during my master's project, which involved making an interactive documentary on children's involvement in war and conflict situations. During the course of making the documentary, an in-depth study of the *Jenin-Jenin massacre*, had left me depressed for weeks and physically sick after

continued and over exposure to emotionally traumatizing images. In response to Salovey & Meyer's model, I can now contemplate that I was unable to consider the implications of the emotions from their feeling to their meaning, which reflects lack of emotional management. The ability to connect or disconnect from an emotion depending on its usefulness in a given situation is pertinent to documentary makers who are involved in their subject for a long period of time, especially on subjects that are close to their heart or consciousness. Based on Salovey & Meyer's model, one could infer that prolonged involvement, especially with emotionally sensitive subjects, would lead to emotional responses influencing cognition much more, than what it would be, during a short period of involvement with subjects that are not emotionally sensitive. In most cases however, documentary makers work with subjects that they are emotionally sensitive to, in such a case, it is important for the documentary maker to be able to understand and manage emotions, especially when one needs to disconnect, by putting an end to one's involvement with an ongoing reality, for emotional, intellectual and personal growth. American documentary filmmaker James Longley, maker of *Gaza Strip* (2002), travelled to Gaza in January 2001, intending to stay for two weeks to collect preliminary material on the Palestinian Intefada, instead stayed for three months filming throughout the Gaza Strip, during the course of which he was shot at twice by Israeli forces. In his film, Longley uses a panoramic shot at the end of the film, which sums up the ongoing reality of the Palestinian situation in one shot, putting an end to the film. 'At a certain point', states Longley, 'you have to step back from the situation and see it as a filmmaker'. Longley, who won an Oscar award

for the film, declined to accept the award in solidarity with the Palestinian people, who are not an officially recognized community (country) for the Academy.

2) *Fröhlich's analysis of emotional traumatization* in journalism is an important consideration; an increased awareness and prevention can lead to a state of experiencing optimal physiological and psychological resourcefulness, which signifies emotional intelligence at an intra-personal level. Hence, it would be an effort on my part to be aware of and take measures to prevent emotional traumatization.

In an effort to have an increased sense of awareness, I would consider Fröhlich's point about 'perceived excitement' in engaging with high-risk activities or situations in the course of gathering content for my documentary. I would be conscious of any desire to seek or engage in high-risk activities or situations, that manifest a 'perceived excitement', which overtly might seem necessary or what I may enjoy, but in contrast, may spell out of an acquired insensitivity to them, as a result of an adopted, perceived coping mechanism due to previous stress. Further, following Van der Merwe's suggestions about vicarious traumatization, it would be my effort to avoid continued or over exposure to emotionally challenging images or film footage, which can lead to vicarious traumatization or even emotional traumatization. I would also restrain from unnecessarily incorporating emotionally traumatizing images in the documentary, which may lead to vicarious traumatization of my audience. Further, should there be a need to incorporate any such images, these would be accompanied by health warnings

at the onset of the film clip. Besides the issue of vicarious traumatization of my audience, this may also lead to desensitizing the audience, which nullifies the effort of making the documentary and addressing larger issues of peace and non-violence.

Considering Van der Merwe's understanding of reactivation of pain and trauma, as a documentary filmmaker, I must expect my own pain and trauma to be reactivated by the incidents that I may cover as part of making the documentary. Lack of such awareness or developing coping strategies can lead to a negative and downward pathological state and severe psychological effect, which can have many implications. Of these, the one most pertinent to me as a documentary filmmaker is a case where the person's sense of objectivity may become ineffective. Maintaining objectivity is of great significance to me as a documentary filmmaker. Further, Janoff-Bulman's point about a condition of shattered assumptions is also important. Such a condition can transform the view of the world as harsh and cruel, expecting the worst and having limited hope in mankind. Having such a condition, would serve as a severe deterrent in pursuit of positive peace or works based on the foundation of positive peace.

- 3) *Childre's concept* that 'a loving intention results in an exchange of electromagnetic energy with healing effects between individuals. Hence, positive emotions such as love, care and appreciation have also been shown to increase the synchronization between the heart, brain and body within an individual (Childre and Howard 1999:10). In response to this theory, it would be my effort to project



these emotions or the prevalence of these emotions through the content of the documentary. Projection of such emotions or the prevalence of such emotions is also in compliance with the concept of ‘positive peace’, which as Galtung states, refers to the prevalence of integration, cooperation, harmony etc. One could argue that based on neuroscientific evidence the concept of positive peace, as an approach is more effective than negative peace, in initiating a state of well being both intra-personally and inter-personally. In this context, one could strongly contend the use of peace journalism, as a more effective form of journalism in initiating a state of well being inter-personally and as an approach to peacebuilding.

I conclude this section with Brayne’s point that there is a legitimate need for emotional intelligence and an emotional dimension to politics, journalism and the human condition in the twenty-first century. Being self-aware at an intra-personal level will in turn influence the journalist’s or the documentary maker’s story and what they project to the world and audience both overtly and at a subconscious level. In this respect, it would be worth considering the application of emotional intelligence at an inter-personal level, i.e. an emotionally intelligent approach to journalism (and media). In the recent years, there has been an upsurge of subjective forms of journalism; of these, Fröhlich (2005) proposes peace journalism as an emotionally intelligent approach to contemporary world events. The following section discusses the philosophy and principles of peace journalism and Fröhlich’s perspective in this direction.

### **3.4 Peace journalism**

In this section, I first discuss the philosophy and principles of peace journalism as proposed by Galtung and other practitioners of peace journalism like Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. I then draw upon Fröhlich perspectives of peace journalism as an emotionally intelligent approach to journalism, following which I use Bar-On's model of emotional-social intelligence to explore the application of peace journalism as an emotionally-socially intelligent approach to journalism. Further, I provide a critical analysis of practical applications of peace journalism in relation to media coverage.

#### **3.4.1 Philosophy and principles of peace journalism**

Professor Galtung originally coined the term peace journalism in the 1970s, as a form of reporting that focused on the causes and possible solutions to conflict, with a view to enhancing the prospects for peace. In conceptualizing the tenets of peace journalism, Galtung points to the difficulty in distinguishing what constitutes truth in the conventional media context. He equates this to a medical scenario, wherein the causes of a disease might be reported on, in all truthfulness, but any possibilities of a cure or remedy could be omitted. He therefore questions, how truthful a pure fact-reporting style would be, if it merely reported facts without cures and more options, just like the mere listing of diseases in all truthfulness without any cures. He compares the common reporting model to that of a military command situation whereby losses are counted in terms of the numbers of killed, wounded, and material damage. In this context, he suggests that specific reporting styles can have an impact on situations, if they are

reported in a positive way through a wider perspective that include cures and more options (Galtung 1998). Galtung distinguishes two ways of reporting a conflict, 'the low road' approach and the 'high road' approach. The 'low road' refers to a focus on violence and war and on who wins the conflict, while the 'high road' refers to a focus on conflict and its peaceful transformation (ibid).

Peace journalism as a method has a normative approach (Kempf 2003: 2) that heavily draws its insights from conflict analysis (Lynch 2002a: 4, 28-29; Schechter 2001: 1) and aims to 'help prevent and moderate violence, promoting understanding and peace' (Adnan 1998: 3). According to McGoldrick & Lynch, peace journalism opens up a literacy of non-violence and creativity in thinking about conflict and applying to the practical job of everyday reporting (McGoldrick and Lynch 2001:6). All journalism, McGoldrick and Lynch state, is an intervention between the story originator and the audience, and journalists make choices about the ethics of each intervention. Before crafting any story, a peace Journalist would ask, 'what can I do to enhance the prospects for peace?' (McGoldrick and Lynch 2001:6).

In principle, peace journalism strives to 'uphold values of balance, fairness and responsibilities in their coverage of international affairs' (Lynch 2002a: 3) with an obligation towards conflict resolution and a greater understanding of the complex issues of war (Lynch 2002a: 30-33). Lynch puts forth the idea that journalists have a duty to contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflicts in this world (Lynch 2002a: 30-33) hence, calls for a 'larger ethical dimension to the way a conflict is reported and some

sense of responsibility for its possible influence over the course of events' (Lynch 2002a: 9). In response to this ideology, Loyn, an ardent critic of peace journalism argues that this method reduces 'what is really going on' through 'fencing it with an ethical framework'. Loyn however, himself speaks of a distinct agenda when he says that journalists are confined by 'certain assumptions', which they share with their audience. He presents these assumptions as a given condition implying that the journalist has no mandate to raise awareness in a direction other than in keeping with these assumptions, nor any responsibility to question them in view of certain realities (Loyn 2003). Lynch further argues, that 'journalists observe reality, select the elements they consider important, draw conclusions and organize them into a narrative... but compared with practitioners in other fields, journalists operate 'within limited boundaries in regard to critical self-awareness and responsibility' (Lynch 2002a: 9). In support of Lynch, Schechter (2003) argues that peace journalism is a 'healthy alternative' to what Loyn (2003) calls 'the skewed coverage' by the media of the Iraq war. Schechter mentions about a report by *Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR)*, a US media watchdog that expressed severe criticism of US media objectivity flaws in the pre-Iraq war era. In contrast, one of the main characteristics of peace journalism is that it doesn't profess the fact that it is objective in its ethos; instead, it has a distinct agenda of operating in ways that promote peace. McGoldrick & Lynch seek for an ethical journalistic intervention in conflicts that considers the consequences of reporting events for those who are being reported on and for the receivers of the reported events.

In discussing the working methods of peace journalism, McGoldrick and Lynch point to an important but problematic issue of a ‘feedback loop’ of cause and effect, which interferes with objectivity in journalism. In today’s media savvy world, people know how to select and tailor facts in ways that the journalists would report them. McGoldrick and Lynch cite the example of reporting of policies, which are put forward by politicians as solutions to problems; whereby the way the problem is diagnosed, as presented by the journalist, it often hints at the particular implied solutions. This feedback loop serves as ‘the part news plays in the social construction of reality’ (Lynch and McGoldrick 2006: 2). McGoldrick and Lynch (2006) state that journalists have a responsibility in the collective understanding of media products by their audiences, through the way in which they inevitably condition their audiences. Once the audience rely on a specific way in which the media report on events, that reporting is open to manipulation by those who have vested interests in positioning or omission of facts (ibid: 2). Hence, a journalist’s responsibility lies in establishing facts that include all the stakeholders’ interests regarding the issue.

In war journalism, Lynch urges journalists to go deeper into the structure and causes of conflicts so that the audience might better understand the complexities of war (Lynch 2002a: 13-14). In the course of reporting, Lynch stresses that it is important not to portray war as a zero-sum conflict between two opposing parties, rather, journalists should focus on the many conflicting goals of the diverse parties involved in the conflict, thereby ‘opening up a more creative potential for a range of outcomes’ (Lynch and McGoldrick 2000: 1). In this way, Schechter states, peace journalism challenges ‘the one-dimensional

war and conflict reporting, offering concrete alternatives rather than mere criticism' (Schechter 2001: 1). When a conflict is projected, as two parties contesting on the same goals, there is little to play on, whereas, when the conflict 'is more complex, constructive deals can be made'. Lynch asserts that 'if people think of a conflict as having only two parties, they can feel they are faced with only two alternatives – victory or defeat.' For either party defeat being an unthinkable option, each party would step up its efforts for victory, which would deteriorate relations between them, leading to escalation of violence. This may further entrench the 'us and them' mentality, causing more and more people to take sides (Lynch 2002a: 30). Galtung (1998) also sees the polarization of involved parties' interests as one of the key problems in conventional media coverage, which is similar to the reporting-style of sports events, where 'winning is not everything, it is the only thing', an attitude often reflected in the presentation of an 'us versus them' perspective. Lynch therefore stresses that, recognising an expanded number of stakeholders and their goals, expands the possible number of creative combinations of interests, which can lead towards solutions and transformed relations. This, Lynch states, is a key to a co-operative or a collaborative approach (Lynch 2002a: 32).

Lynch provides many examples of how war and conflict can be covered more satisfactorily by the peace journalism method. In the context of the Palestinian conflict for example, he focuses on the many parties involved in the conflict, the history of the conflict and the dispute over the scarce water resources in the region (Lynch 2002a: 43-57). Schechter (2003) also points that if, for example, the coverage of the Middle East-conflict mainly involved 'an endless exchange of violent attacks', then the larger context

would be missed. If the focus of media was limited to daily incidents of bloodshed, it would just reinforce ‘the sense of tragedy and futility of two people pictured only as hating each other’, where the ‘cumulative impression’ would be that of a conflict being unsolvable. Lynch (2002a) states that finding common ground between the warring factions may create an environment better suited for peaceful negotiations than focusing on the aggression of stalemate and journalists should report wrongdoings by all parties in the conflict while treating victims with respect. Lynch suggests a checklist of 17 points of what a peace journalist would aspire to do, based on Galtung’s concept of conflict analysis. Through this approach journalists can convey the complexities involved, provide a broader view on the conflicts, which may contribute to a greater understanding of the war and possible solutions to the war. (Lynch 2002a: 4- 5). Further, journalists should try and seek out peace initiatives on a regular basis, instead of focusing merely on the efforts of official statespersons and peace negotiators (Galtung 1998a: 2-4; Lynch and McGoldrick 2000: 1-3). Martin Zint (2000) actually suggests that journalists should make use of their position to act ‘as mediators or facilitators for non-violent solutions to conflict.

The world is increasingly acknowledging the need for a more impact-responsible way of reporting, and a peace-journalistic approach, Fröhlich (2005; 2006) suggests, is an emotionally intelligent means to world events. In the following section, I discuss Fröhlich’s perspective and also attempt to further her analysis by exploring the principles of peace journalism in relation to Goleman (1997) and Bar-On’s (1997) models of emotional intelligence.

### 3.4.2 Peace journalism and emotional intelligence

In establishing peace journalism as an emotionally intelligent approach to media, I first draw upon Fröhlich's analysis, which she bases on the premise that practicing peace journalism will facilitate internal well being, which also signifies emotional intelligence at an intra-personal level, that will further facilitates emotional intelligence at an inter-personal level, based on Childre's (1999) neuroscientific evidence. Fröhlich largely considers Goleman's concept of emotional intelligence, hence, it might be helpful to reiterate Goleman's definition of emotional intelligence as the ability to recognize and regulate emotions in ourselves and others (Goleman 1998). Goleman's model has four main emotional intelligence components. The first, self-awareness, is the ability to read one's emotions and recognize their impact while using gut feelings to guide decisions. The second, self-management involves controlling one's emotions and impulses and adapting to changing circumstances. The third, social awareness is the ability to sense, understand, and react to other's emotions while comprehending social networks. Finally, relationship management, which is the ability to inspire, influence, and develop others while managing conflict (Goleman, 1998). In understanding Fröhlich's analysis, the last two components of social awareness and relationship management are of relevance in this regard.

A peace journalistic approach, according to Fröhlich can generate a greater understanding within audiences of the cause-and-effect relationships affecting world events. Following this method over a period of time, will allow media professionals to convey the impact an



event has on them (especially in relation to trauma and violence in a war and conflict situation) and this would enable them to account on events in a more emotionally congruent way. Fröhlich posits that journalists would no longer aim to shield themselves against the impact of emotionally challenging events in favour of a perceived need for violent images. They would instead feel the need to retreat from such situations in time to avoid any permanently traumatizing effects on themselves. This would in turn help in reducing the chances of war correspondents contracting life-long PTSD (based on Feinstein's cited research results). Hence, these would enable an optimal physiological and psychological resourcefulness in journalists that signifies emotional intelligence at an intra-personal level.

Fröhlich (2006) continues that the refusal on part of journalists, to avail themselves for producing the demanded level of media-conveyed violence would also constitute an act of self-love and indicate a healthy sense of self-esteem. In this context, Fröhlich (2005) mentions Childre's (1999) findings on the effects of an individual's loving intention and positive emotions, such as care and appreciation on an intra- and inter-personal level. Such a focus on positive emotions assists in achieving a state of inner peace and the synchronization between heart, brain and body within an individual. As earlier mentioned, other individuals pick up this state of an individual's internally peaceful orientation, through an unconscious form of communication involving the persons' heartbeat signals and brain waves. This facilitates a state of internal well being at an inter-personal level; in other words, emotional intelligence at an intra-personal level facilitates the same at an inter-personal level. Further, Fröhlich (2006) states, an increased

attention to the journalist's own emotional needs would convey itself as a message to audiences about violence being less desirable, that would result in a more conscious and responsible way of presenting violence through the media. In this way, a change of media culture in this direction can be expected to contribute to a changing cultural perception of violence in a society.

The other point that Fröhlich puts forth is the presentation of trauma and violence in the portrayal of victims. Portrayal of victims as helpless goes against the grain of a peace journalistic approach. Here, Fröhlich (2005) quotes Hamber & Lewis (1997), who mention that victims are often portrayed as people who are 'irreparably damaged and for whom there appears to be no solution and no future'. Such messages also deny the positive experiences of individuals who have embarked on a process of healing.

According to Fröhlich, an inter-personally peace-oriented journalist will not be interested in presenting such perspectives on other human beings. Fröhlich (2005) also quotes the example of Foundation Hironnelle (2004), a peace radio, which promotes the working together of people from different, sometimes conflicting ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds to encourage honesty and other aspired qualities like respect for otherness, tolerance, commitment to human values and human rights, humanism and dignity. All of these are based on a peace-journalism-oriented media approach, which serves as an example of applied emotional intelligence in an international context.

While I contend with Fröhlich's analysis and her perspective of peace journalism as an emotionally intelligent approach to world events, I feel there is some scope for further

analysis in drawing this relationship. It is my attempt to elaborate on what Fröhlich has already established, however I seek to use a slightly different approach in analysing the congruence of this relationship. I attempt to decipher the philosophy and principles of peace journalism in compliance with Bar-On's concept of emotional-social intelligence. In doing so, I first provide an analysis of Bar-On's concept and model of emotional-social intelligence (ESI), and then draw upon its application in peace journalism.

#### 3.4.2.1. The Bar-On model of emotional-social intelligence (ESI)

In my review of the three constructs of emotional intelligence, I referred to concepts by Salovey & Mayer (1990), Goleman (1995) and Bar-On (1997). As mentioned earlier, Bar-On's understanding of this construct is slightly different from Salovey & Mayer and Goleman and he refers to this construct as emotional-social intelligence, which is what I consider for my analysis.

In conceptualizing the model of emotional-social intelligence, Bar-On (2006) draws upon a historical perspective of social and emotional intelligence, to establish that the two are related. The historical roots of this research can be traced back to the nineteenth century when Charles Darwin (1872) published his well-known work in the wider area of emotional-social intelligence, concerning the importance of emotional expression for survival and adaptation. Works on social intelligence appeared with Thorndike (1920) and others, who focused on describing, defining and assessing socially competent behaviour (Chapin 1942; Doll 1935; Moss & Hunt 1927; Moss et al. 1927; Thorndike, 1920). In 1935, Edgar Doll published the first instrument designed to measure socially

intelligent behaviour in young children, which also influenced David Wechsler (1943) to establish that prevalent models of intelligence (general) would be incomplete without describing the influence of non-intellective factors. This prompted scholars to shift their attention from describing and assessing social intelligence to understanding the purpose of interpersonal behaviour and its role in effective adaptability (Zirkel 2000 cited in Bar-On 2006: 1). This line of research helped define human effectiveness from the social perspective and strengthened one aspect of Wechsler's (1958) definition of intelligence, which is the 'capacity of the individual to act purposefully' (1958: 7). Additionally, this positioned social intelligence as part of general intelligence. As I had mentioned earlier, contemporary theorists of emotional intelligence like Salovey and Mayer (1990) originally viewed emotional intelligence as part of social intelligence (1990:189), which suggest that both concepts are related and represent interrelated components of the same construct.

Other attempts to combine the emotional and social components of this construct include Howard Gardener's (1983) concept of personal intelligences that is based on intrapersonal (emotional) intelligence and interpersonal (social) intelligence. Carolyn Saarni (1990) describes emotional competence as including eight interrelated emotional and social skills. Additionally, Bar-On's research (1988) in this direction, established that emotional-social intelligence is composed of a number of intrapersonal and interpersonal competencies, skills and facilitators that combine to determine effective human behaviour (1988; 1997b; 2000). Based on these arguments, Bar-On refers to this construct as 'emotional-social intelligence' rather than 'emotional intelligence' or 'social

intelligence', which describes a cross-section of interrelated emotional and social competencies, skills and facilitators, that impact intelligent behaviour (Bar-On 1997b; 2000).

#### 3.4.2.2. The Bar-On model of emotional-social intelligence (ESI)

The Bar-On model (2006) of emotional-social intelligence (the Bar-On model) can be divided into two main parts: the *first* part is the theory, or conceptualization of emotional-social intelligence, also referred as the *Bar-On conceptual model of emotional-social intelligence*. The *second* part is the psychometric aspect of the model, also referred as the *Bar-On psychometric model of emotional-social intelligence*; that is essentially the measure of emotional-social intelligence, based on the theory and is designed to assess it. The Bar-On model of emotional-social intelligence thus refers to both the conceptual and the psychometric aspects of this model, combined into one entity (2006: 3-4).

*Bar-On conceptual model of emotional-social intelligence (ESI)...* ...In describing the theoretical foundation of the Bar-On model, Bar-On (2006: 3-6) states that most concepts of emotional-social intelligence, from Darwin to the present times, have included the following five key components:

- (a) The ability to recognize, understand emotions as well as express our feelings and ourselves;
- (b) The ability to understand others' feelings and relate with people;
- (c) The ability to manage and control our emotions;

(d) The ability to manage change, adapt and solve problems of an intrapersonal and interpersonal nature; and

(e) The ability to generate positive affect (mood) and be self-motivated.

Following on from these, the Bar-On model (1997b; 2000; 2006), describes emotional-social intelligence as a cross- section of interrelated emotional and social competencies, skills and facilitators that determine how effectively we understand and express ourselves, understand others and relate with them, and cope with daily demands. These include the five key components described above (referred as the 5 meta-factors), which further comprise a number of closely related competencies, skills and facilitators (referred as the 15 sub-factors). A description of the 5 meta-factors (scales) and 15 sub-factors (sub-scales) is provided below (2006: 3-6). Hence, the Bar-On model can be summarized as:

Figure 16: Bar-On's (1997) Model of Emotional Intelligence (Stys and Blown 2004: 12)

*Bar-On psychometric model of emotional-social intelligence (ESI)*... ...In the context of analyzing the application of emotional-social intelligence within the domain of peace journalism, I will consider the Bar-On (2006: 3-6) conceptual model of ESI. However, to better understand the model, it might be helpful to describe the instrument used for developing the Bar-On model, known as the Emotional Quotient Inventory (the EQ-i). The EQ-i (Bar-On 1997a) is a self-report measure of emotionally and socially intelligent behaviour that provides an estimate of emotional-social intelligence, and is the most widely used measure of emotional-social intelligence to date (Bar-On, 2004). The EQ-i contains 133 items in the form of short sentences and employs a 5- point response scale with a textual response format ranging from ‘very seldom or not true of me’ (1) to ‘very often true of me or true of me’ (5)<sup>5</sup>. The EQ-i is suitable for individuals 17 years of age and older and takes approximately 40 minutes to complete. The individual’s responses render a total EQ score and scores on the following 5 composite scales that comprise 15 subscale scores. These are:

- Intrapersonal (comprising Self- Regard, Emotional Self-Awareness, Assertiveness, Independence, and Self- Actualization)
- Interpersonal (comprising Empathy, Social Responsibility, and Interpersonal Relationship)
- Stress Management (comprising Stress Tolerance and Impulse Control)
- Adaptability (comprising Reality-Testing, Flexibility, and Problem- Solving)
- General Mood (comprising Optimism and Happiness)

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<sup>5</sup> Note: A list of the inventory's items is found in the instrument's technical manual (Bar-On, 1997b).

The scores are computer generated; raw scores are automatically tabulated and converted into standard scores based on a mean of 100 and standard deviation of 15, which resembles the IQ (Intelligent Quotient). An average to above average EQ scores on the EQ-i, suggest that the respondent is effective in emotional and social functioning. The higher the scores, the more positive the prediction for effective functioning in meeting daily demands and challenges. On the other hand, low EQ scores suggest an inability to be effective and the possible existence of emotional, social and/or behavioural problems<sup>6</sup>. In constructing the EQ-i that is designed to examine the conceptual model of emotional and social functioning, Bar-On, hypothesized that emotional and social functioning should eventually lead to a sense of psychological well-being. Further, the results gained from applying such an instrument on large and diverse population samples would reveal more about emotionally and socially intelligent behaviour and about the underlying construct of emotional-social intelligence.

#### 3.4.2.3. Robustness of the Bar-On model of ESI

I had mentioned earlier that the concept of emotional intelligence has been subjected to criticism since empirical evidence that support the existence of a separate and measurable emotional intelligence is developing and ambiguous. It might therefore be helpful to explain the robustness of the Bar-On model of ESI (2006: 5) before using it to analyse its application in peace journalism. Bar-On's construct of ESI is empirically based. Over the last 17 years, Bar-On has continuously moulded his conceptualization based on findings

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<sup>6</sup> Note :The EQ-i has a built-in correction factor that automatically adjusts the scale scores based on scores obtained from two of the instrument's validity indices (Positive Impression and Negative Impression). This is an important feature for self-report measures in that it reduces the potentially distorting effects of response bias thereby increasing the accuracy of the results.



obtained from applying EQ-i in a wide range of studies. The development of this model has been rigorous, and that the outcome of this process has produced a valid concept and measure of ESI. Numerous reliability and validity studies have been conducted around the world that describe the reliability and validity of the EQ-i and the construct it measures. The model is consistent, stable over time and across cultures, and also capable of describing the construct it was designed to describe i.e. emotional-social intelligence. It has been demonstrated that the Bar-On model has the ability to predict various aspects of human behaviour and performance. Further, the concept is both teachable and learnable and that the ESI factors involved can be enhanced through training (Bar-On, 2006: 5-6).

The following section analyses its application within peace journalism that suggest that peace journalism is an applied emotionally-socially intelligent approach to journalism.

#### 3.4.2.4. Peace journalism and Emotional-social intelligence

In this section, I seek to expand on Fröhlich's analysis that peace journalism is an emotionally intelligent approach to modern world events and draw upon the application of emotional-social intelligence in the working method of peace journalism, that suggest that it is an emotionally-socially intelligent approach to journalism. For my analysis, I consider the application of the Bar-On conceptual model of ESI within the philosophy, principles and working method of peace journalism. In doing so, I first analyse what it means to be emotionally and socially intelligent according to Bar-On.

According to Bar-On model, to be emotionally and socially intelligent is to effectively understand and express oneself, to understand and relate well with others, and to successfully cope with daily demands, challenges and pressures. This is based, first and foremost, on one's intrapersonal ability to be aware of oneself, to understand one's strengths and weaknesses, and to express one's feelings and thoughts, non-destructively. On the interpersonal level, being emotionally and socially intelligent encompasses the ability to be aware of others' emotions, feelings and needs, and to establish and maintain cooperative, constructive and mutually satisfying relationships. Ultimately, being emotionally and socially intelligent means to effectively manage personal, social and environmental change by realistically and flexibly coping with the immediate situation, solving problems and making decisions. To do this, we need to manage emotions and be sufficiently optimistic, positive and self-motivated (Bar-On 1997; 2006)

From Bar-On's multi-factorial arrays of competencies, skills and facilitators, I mainly concentrate on three meta-factors, 'interpersonal', 'adaptability', and 'good mood', and briefly, on the 'intrapersonal' meta-factor. The intrapersonal meta-factor of the Bar-On model relates primarily to self-awareness and self-expression and has five sub-factors, 'self-regard', 'emotional self-awareness', 'assertiveness', 'independence' and 'self-actualization'. Of these, I draw upon *emotional self-awareness*, which is defined as the ability to be aware of and understand our emotions, to differentiate between them and to know what we are feeling and why, and what caused those feelings. Apart from what Fröhlich has already established regarding self-awareness and intrapersonal intelligence within journalists, I would like to point to the relationship between emotional self-

awareness and subjectivity in journalism. Subjectivity is a ‘personal choice’ in journalism. It is acknowledged that war or conflict situations impact journalists emotionally. Factors that influence a journalist’s stance of objectivity can range from institutional restraints, to the emotional life of reporters themselves (Zelizer and Allan 2002: 252). In fact, Herbert Gans mentions about ‘intraprofessional process’, in which reporters alter their opinions in reaction to a change among a high number of peers - in an environment where they react to the news around them, at the same time supplying the flow of news themselves (Gans 1980: 200). This happens when journalists change their opinions or become opinionated from being neutral, which is often a reaction to highly visible and often, dramatic events. Further, Schechter mentions that ‘when journalists are personally affected by what they see, they tend to become compassionate’ (Schechter 2001:2). Subjective methodologies such as journalism of attachment and peace journalism were developed through *individual* choices taken by journalists to become subjective. One can argue that acknowledging emotional involvement (along with emotional traumatization, as Fröhlich pointed), i.e. recognising emotions, in Goleman’s terminology or, being aware of and understanding the emotions, what one is feeling and what has caused those feelings according to Bar-On (1997), exhibits emotional self-awareness, which contributes to intrapersonal competency in emotional-social intelligence. Allan and Zelizer (2002) state that considering the ‘specific circumstances under which war reporting takes place, journalistic objectivity is almost impossible’ (Zelizer and Allan 2002: 252). Hence, it could be argued that journalists, who profess objectivity or journalism of detachment, do not acknowledge or recognize their emotional involvement, or suppress, their emotional involvement, which manifests as lack of

emotional self-awareness. On the contrary, practitioners of journalism of attachment and peace journalism, openly admit that their journalism is ‘intended’ and ‘subjective’.

Recognizing and regulating emotions manifests an increased sense of emotional self-awareness, which contributes to emotional-social intelligence at an intrapersonal level.

Now considering the meta-factors in the Bar-On ESI model, interpersonal competency comprises empathy, social responsibility and interpersonal relationship. It relates primarily to social awareness, skills and interaction, and is concerned with our ability to be aware of others’ feelings, concerns and needs. Being interpersonally competent defines the ability to establish and maintain cooperative, constructive and mutually satisfying relationships. To further elaborate on this competency, the sub-factor ‘empathy’ is the ability to be aware of and understand how others feel. Being empathetic implies being sensitive to people’s feelings, to be able to emotionally read other people and show interest, care and concern for them (Bar-On 1997). According to McGoldrick and Lynch (2000), ‘the whole essence of peace journalism is based on understanding what is needed to create a lasting peace, with something for *everyone*’ (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000:47). It is a form of journalism that aims at reducing human suffering and increasing human happiness. According to Galtung (1998), for good peace work, empathy, creativity and non-violence are needed and exactly the same is required of the peace journalist (Transcend 2005). In contrast to war or objective journalism, which focuses on violence and visible effects of violence such as killed, wounded and material damage, a peace journalist focuses on human suffering and the invisible effects of violence such as trauma, glory, and damage to structure or culture. A peace journalist

considers humanization of all sides and gives voice, empathy and understanding to all parties involved in a conflict, instead of just giving a voice for 'us' and seeing 'them' as the problem. Further, it treats as important the experiences, hopes, fears and grievances of the reading, listening and viewing public at the grass roots as much as the elite and the leaders signing agreements in a conflict situation. According to McGoldrick and Lynch, as part of society, peace journalists are as responsible for 'social negotiation' as anyone else is (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000:48). As a form of journalism, its very foundation is built on social responsibility.

According to Bar-On (1997), social responsibility, a sub-factor to interpersonal competency, is defined as the ability to identify with our social group (in family, among friends and at work) and being cooperative, contributing and constructive members of our social group. Socially responsible people possess 'social consciousness' and a basic concern for others, which is manifested by being able to take on group and community-oriented responsibilities. They have an acquired sense of interpersonal sensitivity, and use their talent for the collective good (not just for their self) (Bar-On 1997). In line with Schechter's (2003) argument in support of peace journalism, peace journalists maintain their values and social consciousness and take responsibility for the impact of their work. Contrary to conventional, war or objective journalism, where journalists serve as watch dog and commentator, independent of issues covered as spectators or observers, peace journalists serve as enablers and communicators, who 'consciously examine their role in conflict resolution and redefine what is newsworthy to better inform and encourage reconciliation and also foster dialogue between conflicting sides' (Howard 2002: 8-9).

According to McGoldrick and Lynch (2000), peace journalism serves as an ethical journalistic intervention in conflicts that considers the consequences of reporting events for those who are being reported on and for the receivers of the reported events (2000: 2). Peace journalists have a people-oriented approach to journalism, who focus on all the people involved in a conflict as opposed to an elite few (ibid: 29). Unlike war or objective journalism, they have a co-operative approach to conflict, and collaborate with all the people involved to resolve the conflict, as opposed to an elite few (ibid: 8). For a people-oriented and co-operative approach, the social skill required is interpersonal relationship, which is the last sub-factor of the interpersonal competency.

Bar-On defines interpersonal relationship as the ability to establish and maintain mutually satisfying relationships and relate well with others. Mutual satisfaction describes meaningful social interactions that are potentially rewarding and enjoyable for those involved. Being skilled in interpersonal relationships implies giving and receiving warmth, affection and possessing positive expectations concerning social interaction. This social skill is based on sensitivity towards others and a desire to establish relations (Bar-On 1997). One of the key attributes in peace journalism is that a peace journalist avoids accepting stark distinctions between ‘self’ and the ‘other’. At a strategic level, such a distinction can build a sense of the other party being a ‘threat’ or ‘beyond the pale’ of civilized behaviour. Instead, a peace journalist seeks the ‘other’ in the ‘self’ and vice versa and explores the differences or similarities in the behaviour of each party. A peace journalist avoids concentrating on what divides parties, such as the differences between them and their wants; instead, seeks to reveal areas of common ground, that suggest some

goals that can be shared or are compatible. A peace journalist also, avoids using demonizing labels like ‘terrorist’, ‘extremist’, ‘fanatic’ or ‘fundamentalist’, as these are labels given by ‘us’ to ‘them’. People would never generally use these terms to describe themselves and such labelling renders these people as unreasonable and not negotiable. In addition, for a journalist to use such labelling is taking sides, which goes against the grain of objectivity in journalism. Further, a peace journalist always avoids victimizing language like ‘devastated’, ‘defenceless’, ‘pathetic’ and ‘tragedy’ and treats victims of trauma and violence with utmost integrity. As mentioned earlier on, portrayal of victims as being irreparably damaged and for whom there appears no solution or future, not only disempowers them and limits the options for change, but also denies the positive experiences of individuals who have embarked on a process of healing (Hamber and Lewis 1997 cited by Fröhlich 2006). Instead of using victimizing language, a peace journalist strives to explore and highlight positive changes and peace initiatives wherever they come from.

One of the important competencies in the Bar-On (1997; 2006) model of ESI that I identify with peace journalism is ‘adaptability’ (change management), which comprises ‘reality testing’, ‘flexibility’, and ‘problem solving’. Bar-On (2006: 4) defines adaptability as the ability to cope with and adapt to personal and interpersonal change as well as change in our immediate environment. People who have a high capacity for adaptability are typically flexible, realistic, effective in understanding problematic situations, and competent at arriving at adequate solutions. Success in this area means that they can grasp problems and devise effective solutions. The first sub-factor of

adaptability is 'reality testing', which governs the ability to objectively validate our feelings and thinking with external reality. This includes assessing the correspondence between what is experienced and what objectively exists. Testing the degree of correspondence between what we experience and what actually exists involves a search for objective evidence to confirm, justify and support feelings, perceptions and thoughts. Perceptual clarity is an important aspect of reality testing. The emphasis is on pragmatism, objectivity, the adequacy of our perception and authenticating our ideas and thoughts (ibid: 4-5). At a conceptual level, Galtung differentiates peace journalism from war journalism, as that which 'gives a more realistic image of what goes on in the world'. This is opposed to what is described as war journalism, which reflects the war logic of a world of states pitted against each other, with international conflict and war being matters of the states and the statesmen, not to be touched by the common folk (Galtung: 1998). McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) explain how good war journalism or good critical journalism lack in providing a realistic picture by routinely *missing out* certain factors, which an understanding of peace studies, conflict analysis and transformation sees as essential. This pattern of omission provides a skewed image rather than a realistic image of what goes on in the world. By focusing only on certain aspects of a conflict, such as violence and omitting possibilities and visibility of peace initiatives, or lack of transparency in conflicts, all contribute to a distorted image of reality (2000:48). It is to this pattern of omission, which may provide only one side of the story albeit, aspects of violence and omits any possibilities of peace that peace journalism contributes to a more realistic image of the world.



Further, good war journalism or objective journalism claim that they are ‘just reporting the facts’, a pervasive belief especially in the English-speaking countries in the West. This belief or perceived reality is however problematic. McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) explain this as the ‘feedback loop’ of cause and effect. In today’s media savvy world, many people actually know how to create and tailor facts for journalists to report in a way that they would like them to report. Hence, facts do not crop up waiting for journalists to discover and report them; instead, the reporting and the calculation about its effects on public opinion are already built into the facts. Every time a journalist reports on an issue, that story adds another layer to the collective understanding of how journalists are likely to respond in similar situations. In this way, journalists influence the kind of facts likely to be provided for them to report in the future or the future behaviour of, for example, parties to a conflict. Journalists, their sources and their audiences are all complicit in this feedback loop of cause and effect, which serves as ‘the part news plays in the social construction of reality’ (2000: 48-49). Hence, the claim in objective journalism that journalists ‘just report the fact’, gives an incomplete and in some cases an inaccurate account of the journalist’s role. All forms of journalism are an intervention between the story originator (for example the government or parties involved in a conflict) and the audience (i.e. the public). Hence, journalists make choices about the ethics of each intervention. In peace journalism, a peace journalist seeks to minimize the rift between opposed parties by not repeating ‘facts’, considering how they were constructed in the first place, that demonize or set the stage for conflict and approach a broader, fairer and more accurate way of framing stories, in other words, in the construct of realities in the world.

Within its working principles, a peace journalist seeks to objectively validate opinions, claims, and views i.e. their feelings and thinking with external reality. A peace journalist avoids making an opinion or claim seem like an established fact. For example, as McGoldrick and Lynch (2000: 32) argue that, a peace journalist would avoid a claim as, ‘Osama bin Laden, said to be (or thought to be or being seen as) responsible for the attack on New York...’. Instead a peace journalist authenticates exactly who said what; in this case, ‘Osama bin Laden, accused by America of ordering the attack on New York....’. In this way the journalist also avoids implicitly signing up to the allegations made by one party against the other, and maintains the stance of objectivity. Similarly, a peace journalist avoids demonizing labels, like ‘terrorist’, ‘extremist’, ‘fanatic’ or ‘fundamentalist’. These are again subjective views or terms created by self (us) about them. In reality, no one ever uses them to describe himself or herself. A peace journalist instead, calls people by the names given by themselves or be more precise in their description; for example, McGoldrick and Lynch (2000: 32-33) mention the attacks of September 11, 2001, for which the term ‘suicide hijackers’ is less partisan and gives more information than the term ‘terrorists’. Again, a peace journalist avoids demonizing adjectives like ‘vicious’, ‘cruel’, ‘brutal’, and ‘barbaric’, because these describe a party’s view of the other, which is subjective and implicitly following these views also goes against the grain of objectivity. A peace journalist instead reports on what is known about the wrong doing and provides as much information as one can about the reliability of other people’s reports or descriptions of it. In case, the issue is still being investigated, a peace journalist would say so, as a caution that truth may not yet be known. A peace

journalist also avoids the imprecise use of emotive words to describe what has happened to people, such as ‘genocide’, ‘tragedy’, ‘assassination’, ‘massacre’, ‘systemic’ etc, unless what happened actually falls within the prescribed definition of these terms. A peace journalist instead seeks to be precise about what they know and reserve the strongest language for the gravest situations and help justify disproportionate responses, which escalate violence. Further, a peace journalist avoids focusing exclusively on the wrongdoings of only one side. Instead they try to name all the wrong doers and treat equally, serious allegations made by all sides in a conflict, where treating seriously implies making equal efforts to establish whether any evidence exists to back them up; scrutinizing ‘who wants me to believe this and why?’ (Ibid: 30-32). Acknowledging the allegations and suffering of all sides is essential for establishing the *real* formation or map of the conflict. Not only does peace journalism authenticate and validate the varied dimensions of the conflict, but also delivers unusual and different angles, which in the words of McGoldrick and Lynch (2000; 2002) is very valuable in a time of rapidly proliferating media. An essential requirement for this approach is flexibility.

Flexibility, the second sub-factor of the adaptability competency, represents the ability to adapt and adjust our feelings, thinking and behaviour to changing situations and conditions. Flexibility implies being open to and tolerant of different ideas, orientations, ways and practices (Bar-On 2006: 8). A key difference between objective journalism and peace journalism is the approach that ‘this is the way journalism is done’, as opposed to a more ‘flexible and exploratory approach’ that peace journalism has (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000: 46). This component of emotional and social intelligence lies at the

foundation of unconventional journalism, more so peace journalism, where by in Schechter's words, 'journalists might do more to examine how conflicts could be resolved rather than focus on the blood and gore' (Schechter: 2003). The stance that advocates of objectivity hold, whereby, journalists cannot intervene in events or take responsibility for the impact of their professed objectivity, therefore their involvement in conflict resolution or peacebuilding cannot be debated, is not just about adhering to an ideology or a prescribed form of journalism, but also lack of flexibility that is needed for the changing situation or environment. This flexibility of peace journalism is manifested in a new set of terms that McGoldrick & Lynch (2000)<sup>7</sup> draw upon for the everyday work of a journalist. Conventionally, the role of a journalist in objective or war journalism is that of a watchdog and commentator, who is independent of issues that are covered and stands as a spectator or observer. In the new form (or that prescribed by peace journalism), a peace journalist is an enabler and communicator who is independent, yet interdependent and 'in the boat' or part of the situation. In conventional journalism, the style or approach to stories is that of debate, difference and polemic. While, for a peace journalist, it is about dialogue, searching for common ground and difference, and discussion. The conventional approach to journalism, seeks simplicity, it is reactive to violent events, and it's reporting is event-based with the ideology 'I am objective' and a sense of balance, which lies in covering both sides equally in terms of quantity. While a peace journalist explores complexity, uses a strategy to understand and uncover the conflict, has a process-based reporting with the ideology 'I am fair' and a sense of balance that represents stories and perceptions on both sides in terms of quality. In

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<sup>7</sup> **Note:** The table that McGoldrick & Lynch refer to was drawn by Dr Lesley Fordred, Department of Anthropology, University of Cape Town, South Africa; in McGoldrick & Lynch, Peace Journalism, What is it? How to do it? Reporting the World, 2000

conventional journalism, the approach to audience is that ‘bodily damage/gore increases circulation’ and that the newsroom sets the agenda, that leaders know best and ordinary people have the right to know. The peace journalism approach to audience is that ‘public participation in problem solving builds audiences/readership’, that public has a role in setting a agenda and ordinary people need to be consulted and have the right to participate in democratic processes (2000: 46). At the heart of this flexible or exploratory approach in journalism is the intention to actually intervene in a conflict situation and generate effective solutions to resolve it, rather than stand outside and comment on the problem. In this context, the component of problem solving in emotional and social intelligence is of significance.

In the Bar-On (2006: 8) model of ESI, *problem solving* is the last sub-factor of adaptability, which is the ability to effectively solve problems of a personal and interpersonal nature. Problem solving entails the ability to identify and define problems as well as to generate and implement potentially effective solutions. It is multi-phasic in nature and includes the ability to go through the following process:

- (i) Sensing a problem and feeling confident as well as motivated to deal with it effectively;
- (ii) Defining and formulating the problem as clearly as possible which necessitates gathering relevant information;
- (iii) Generating as many solutions as possible, and
- (iv) Implementing one of the solutions, after weighing the pros and cons of each possible solution, and then choosing the best course of action. People adept in

problem solving are characterized as conscientious, disciplined, methodical and systematic in persevering and approaching challenging situations (ibid: 8-9).

In the 1970s, when Galtung coined the term peace journalism, he conceptualized this as a form of reporting that focused on the causes and possible solutions to conflict, with a view to enhancing the prospects for peace. In conceptualizing this form of journalism, Galtung (1998) points to the difficulty in distinguishing what constitutes truth in the pure fact-reporting style in conventional media. He equates this to a medical scenario, wherein the causes of a disease might be reported on, in all truthfulness, but any possibilities of a cure or remedy could be omitted. ‘Imagine a blackout on everything we associate with medical practice; never to be reported in the media. Disease, however, is to be reported fully, in gruesome detail, particularly when elite persons are struck. The process of disease is seen as natural, as a fight between the human body and whatever are the factors. Sometimes one side wins, sometimes the other... like a game. Fair play means to give either side a fair chance, not interfering with the ways of nature where the stronger eventually wins. The task of journalism is to report this struggle objectively, hoping that our side, the body, wins. Such a journalist would be firmly rooted in the tradition of feeding negative events into the news and would not be concerned about how diseases might be overcome, except by means as violent as the disease (like open-heart surgery, chemo-or radiotherapy). In such case, ‘the softer approaches would go under-reported; so would anything known as preventive medicine’. The same applies to the common reporting model, which he compares to that of a military command situation, whereby losses are counted in terms of numbers killed, wounded, and material damage.

In this context, he suggests that specific reporting styles can have an impact on situations, if they are reported in a positive way through a wider perspective that include cures and more options.

Peace journalism draws its insights from conflict analysis and aims to help prevent and moderate violence, promoting understanding and peace. This is contrary to the tradition of objective journalism, where, journalists and correspondents are witnesses and not actors, outside of events who are pursuing truth, hence cannot intervene and therefore cannot involve in conflict resolution or peacebuilding (Loyn 2003). In war journalism, the focus is on winning of either party with a victory-oriented approach; peace journalism is solution oriented with a general 'win', 'win' orientation for all parties involved (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000: 29). One of the strongest components of emotional and social intelligence ingrained in peace journalism is the ability to identify and define the problems and find potentially effective solutions that resolve the problem.

In listing the tasks of a peace journalist, Galtung (1998) devised the different approaches and processes involved in peace journalism. In approaching a conflict, a peace journalist has a peace/conflict-oriented approach, instead of a war/violence-oriented approach that is prevalent in war journalism. A peace journalist first analyses and explores the conflict formation, and has a general 'win', 'win orientation for all parties involved. This approach is contrary to war journalism, where the focus is on the conflict arena, with a two party mindset having one goal (i.e. to win) and a general zero-sum orientation (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000: 29). This approach, also ascribed as competitive approach

sees the conflict with zero-sum gains like a competition between two parties (or a tug of war), where the parties are working against each other and trying to defeat each other and increase the costs to the other side(s) of continuing to pursue certain goals. McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) explain why such an approach is ineffective in resolving the conflict; when a conflict is seen as having only two parties then one is faced with only two alternatives, i.e. a victory or a defeat. Since defeat would be an unthinkable option, each party would step up its efforts for victory leading to deterioration of relationships and an escalation of violence. This may further reinforce the bipolar conflict model, causing people to take sides and question their own security finding the only solution in 'their kind of way' (2000: 8-9). In such case, the goals become formulated as demands to distinguish and further divide each party. The demands then harden into a 'platform' or 'position', which could only be achieved through victory. In this approach, at best there is a settlement, not a resolution, with low levels of trust and deterioration of relations between the parties. Peace according to a victory-oriented approach implies victory plus ceasefire. Here, the journalists would eventually leave the arena to cover another conflict and return, if the old flares up again.

The peace journalism approach is rather co-operative or collaborative in nature and solution oriented. It is characterized by positive-sum gains, where the parties work together to address problems jointly. In following this approach, a peace journalist first tries to disaggregate the two parties involved, into many smaller groups, pursuing many goals, (x parties, y goals, z issues) and tries to understand the deeper roots of the conflict, such as its history, structure and culture etc. McGoldrick and Lynch (2002) explain that



recognising an expanded number of stakeholders and their goals expands the possible number of creative combinations of interests, which can lead towards solutions and transformed relations. In such an approach, where the conflict is presented as more complex, constructive deals can be made, such as X yielding to Y on goal one, and Y yielding to Z on goal two and Z to X on goal three and so on (2000: 8-9). This approach is marked by high levels of trust, which lead to improved relationships between the parties that eventually produce mutually satisfactory outcomes – resolution and transformation. Here, peace implies non-violence plus creativity, where the peace journalist has to think of new and creative ideas that can resolve the conflict and is proactive by nature, i.e. aims for ‘prevention’ before any violence/war occurs, contrary to a war journalist, who is reactive, i.e. waits for violence before reporting. While a war journalist concentrates at the point where violence is dominant, a peace journalist tries to trace all possible links and consequences for people in other places, in the future and what lessons can be learnt from watching these events unfold as part of a global audience. In this approach, peace journalists remain with the issues at hand in the aftermath for resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation.

Thus, as an approach to journalism, peace journalism entails the ability to identify and define problems, as well as generate and implement potentially effective solutions, as opposed to other forms of journalism such as objective and war journalism, which either do not generate any solutions or attempt to generate solutions which are ineffective in resolving the problem, i.e. the conflict. Hence, just on the basis of *problem solving* component of emotional and social intelligence, one could argue that peace journalism is

applied emotional and social intelligence in the field of journalism that can effectively identify, define, generate and implement potentially effective solutions to problems.

The last competency of emotional-social intelligence that I would like to highlight in my analysis is that of *general mood*, (Bar-On 2006: 4), which is closely associated with self-motivation. General mood has two sub-factors, *optimism* and *happiness*. People adept in this facilitator of emotional-social intelligence are, among other attributes, positive and competent in managing emotions and solving problems of an intrapersonal and interpersonal nature. *Optimism* is defined as the ability to maintain a positive and hopeful attitude in approaching daily living and in whatever we do. *Happiness* is defined as the ability to feel content with ourselves, others and life in general. Happiness acts as a barometric indicator of our overall degree of emotional and social functioning and also functions as a powerful facilitator and motivational factor for various aspects of emotional-social intelligence (ibid: 4-5). As mentioned earlier, peace journalism aims at reducing human suffering and increasing human happiness (Galtung 1998). In other words, peace journalism aims at achieving negative peace, i.e. the absence of violence, which reduces human suffering and positive peace which is the prevalence of integration, harmony, empathy, co-operation etc, that increase human happiness. A peace journalist constantly endeavours in pursuit of a peaceful initiative or solution to a conflict situation. By being proactive, a peace journalist works towards prevention (or absence) of violence that is negative peace. At the same time, a peace journalist explores and enquires deeper into a conflict situation to creatively find any possible peaceful outcome or initiative that can contribute to a peaceful solution. It is this creative and exploratory pursuit for a

peaceful outcome that manifests as the optimism component of emotional and social intelligence. In expressing optimism regarding the prospects of peace journalism, Galtung (1998) states one reason why peace journalism would succeed, is the increasing number of peace prized defining individuals and groups through their peace work in the same way, as medals and decorations made heroes out of soldiers defining their peace work. In Galtung's (1998) opinion, the world is changing, and so is the military, from war tasks to defence tasks and from defence tasks to peace tasks, all of that in one century.

In considering who would practice peace journalism or become peace journalists, Galtung (n.d.) makes an interesting point about gender being a crucial dimension in this direction. In Galtung's (n.d.) view women may be better at peace journalism because peace, as an entity is more 'holistic' than war; women may be more sensitive to a broader range of variable than men. Moreover, 'peace is a complex process, not linear, demanding a style of reporting that reflects multitudes of small dramas rather than one big dominant narrative'. While war is more linear, towards 'victory' for one side and may render itself better to male writing, which is linear and logical in the sense of letting conclusions flow. In contrast, 'female writing may be more circular, trying to keep in mind many more aspects than one overriding dramatic Leitmotif'. According to Galtung, if males are more attracted to hardware, women to human beings, *'then we may be entitled to expect an explosion in peace reporting – from women'*. Interestingly, Galtung's assertion is validated in Bar-On's finding, about the impact of gender on the Bar-On model of emotional-social intelligence. Bar-On's first normative sample, the North American normative sample was conducted to examine the effect of age, gender

and ethnicity on EQ-i scores (Bar-On, 1997b). With respect to gender, no differences were revealed between males and females regarding overall ESI. However, statistically significant gender differences were found to exist for few factors measured by the EQ-i. Based on the North American normative sample (Bar-On 1997b), females appear to have stronger interpersonal skills than males, while men have a higher intrapersonal capacity, are better at managing emotions and are more adaptable than the women. The findings more specifically reveal that women are more aware of emotions, demonstrate more empathy, relate better interpersonally and are more socially responsible than men. Similar gender patterns have been observed in almost every other population sample that has been examined with the EQ-i (Bar-On 2006:7).

Bar-On suggests that future studies in the Bar-On model should examine its relationship with a wider variety of human performance and hopefully the model and the findings that have been generated would make their way onto home, school, workplace and other sectors of society. Considering Fröhlich's (2005; 2006) significant contribution in this line of research by linking the two areas of emotional intelligence and peace journalism, I propose further initiatives in this direction. In the above analyses by Fröhlich and myself, one can infer that there is a relationship between emotional intelligence and peace journalism and that peace journalism is an emotionally intelligent approach to world events, as Fröhlich concluded and applied emotional-social intelligence in the field of journalism. However, these analyses were derived based on the conceptual understanding of emotional intelligence, i.e. Fröhlich consideration of Goleman's concept of emotional intelligence and my consideration of Bar-On's conceptual model of emotional-social

intelligence. It is here that there is a need to draw upon empirical evidence to establish this relationship and validate by measuring EQ-i, say for example of peace journalists, using Bar-On's psychometric model of emotional-social intelligence (Bar-On 2004), which is the most widely used measure of emotional-social intelligence to date.

Drawing influence from Feinstein's (2002) study in Fröhlich's (2005) analysis, it could be proposed that a study were conducted which included a sample of war journalists and peace journalists who completed the EQ-i. Based on this distinction, it would be interesting to see the differences revealed between war and peace journalists regarding the overall ESI. Further, Feinstein's study indicated a higher rate of psychopathology of war correspondents in comparison with a demographically matched group of 107 non-war journalists. While, Galtung suggests that practicing peace journalism may require 'more psychological courage', and practicing war journalism may require 'more physical courage' (Galtung). Hence, hypothetically peace journalists should show a lower rate of psychopathology, which implies they would have a higher capacity for psychological well-being than war journalists. In this context, the relationship between Bar-On model (2006) and psychological health indicated three most powerful ESI competencies, skills and facilitators that impact psychological health. These are (a) the ability to manage emotions and cope with stress (emotional self-awareness); (b) the drive to accomplish personal goals in order to actualize one's inner potential and lead a more meaningful life (self-actualization) and (c) the ability to verify feelings and thinking (reality testing) (Bar-On 2004). Based on this, it can be hypothesised that peace journalists would have a higher capacity for all the three competencies. It would also be interesting to see the differences

revealed between war and peace journalists regarding other competencies such as interpersonal, adaptability and general mood, which might reveal empirical evidence for establishing peace journalism as an emotionally and socially intelligent approach to journalism.

Based on the above analyses, one can conclude that conceptually peace journalism is an emotionally and socially intelligent approach to journalism; however, considering the current trends in media practice of news coverage especially at the institutional level, there are various obstacles and practical issues that influence its viability and practice. At an individual level Kempf states that peace journalism demands much from journalists. The method requires the journalists to break free from the institutional, economical and sociological constraints of news production in order to successfully become peace correspondents. Besides, it also requires peace journalists to have an in depth knowledge and understanding of conflict theory, at the same time possess the professional and technical skills for communicating wars in an exciting and engaging manner (Kempf 2003:10-11). Stressing on the strain of practicing peace journalism, Majid Tehranian (2002) states that ‘at an individual level, peace journalism appears the simplest to define but the most difficult to enact’. For peace journalism to succeed, journalists need to undergo an ethical transformation, and at an institutional level, the whole system of news production must undertake major structural changes in its institutional framework to provide the individual freedom necessary for this alteration (Tehranian 2002: 58, 74-76). Tehranian calls for ‘pluralism’ in news institutions on local national and global levels – a media system that is based on the assumption that communication is a human right (ibid:

79). Such transformation of media systems might seem most appropriate however very difficult to achieve. With regard to a more conscious approach regarding modern media responsibilities, Fröhlich states that media corporation's conduct, plays an important role, at the same time, the called-for changes in media consciousness, and the way in which it may impact on media corporate behaviour, is least likely to originate in the industry's decision making bodies (Fröhlich 2005). Tehranian says that a more diverse media system should facilitate the promotion of peace journalism in a more feasible way (Tehranian 2002: 58).

Peace journalism, as mentioned earlier, is a form of *reporting* and is applied mostly for news coverage. In other words, the philosophy and working principles of peace journalism are used in different forms of news media. The demands on peace journalism, especially being time and resource intensive, suggest that peace journalists working for a daily news media would be faced with many obstructions. Further, Francis Rolt (2005: 5) mentions with regard to peacebuilding initiatives in news media that even organizations that work towards peace or 'conflict sensitive' journalism, for example Medios para la Paz (Media for Peace), Columbia, 'do not take on the full potential range of the modern mass media in building peace, as they deal almost exclusively with news and current-affairs content. While 'most media content consists of entertainment, education, human-interest stories and advertisement –not news. Apart from the twenty-four-hour satellite news channels, news and current affairs rarely fill more than 15percent of the space available on radio, TV, or in the print media (Rolt 2005: 5). Rolt, like Howard Ross suggests different types of non-news media that can be utilized for peacebuilding, such as

edutainment, cultural productions, cross-conflict productions, commissioned articles and news agency distribution (2005: 5-7). Hence, it might be well worth exploring the potential of applying peace journalism, in periodicals, local media, and other unconventional media formats such as radio, TV and documentaries used for peacebuilding. It is in this context that I would like to explore the potential of interactive cinema (or documentary) as a peacebuilding tool that draws its insights from the philosophy and principles of peace journalism. In the following section, I explore the potential of interactive documentary that can be utilized for peacebuilding.

### **3.5 Interactive documentary and peacebuilding**

In exploring the use of interactive documentary for peacebuilding, I discuss its attributes that support the working philosophy of peace journalism and the advantages it offers in relation to its linear counterpart. Interactive documentary, as discussed earlier, breaks away from the conventions of the linear format of traditional documentary. It allows dynamic ways of framing reality, through deconstructed, distributed and multiple narratives, shattered temporal continuity and novel forms of spatio-temporal architectures of the visual material. Further, it offers additional possibilities of audience engagement and interaction.

#### **3.5.1 Interactive documentary and peace journalism**

Some scholars have argued that interactive documentary may provide a format for a more ethical way of representing reality, than its traditional counterpart. Whilst acknowledging the wide discourse on representing reality in traditional documentary, by scholars such as Nichols (1991), Barnouw (1993) and Winston (1995), traditional documentary due to its



structural constraints has fixed temporality, which manifests a controlled and unchangeable nature of reality; this may further restrain unfolding possibilities.

Cubitt (2002) distinguishes ethical communication as that, which seeks to open up the branching possibilities of what is not yet, rather than to control, define, and determine them' (cited in Rieser and Zapp 2002: 12). It has been argued that new time-based media such as interactive documentary may present a more flexible and open-ended form of representing reality, which like peace journalism may enable the representation of multiple perspectives and possibilities of events and their ends.

It may however be noted that the author of an interactive documentary has some degree of control and power over the selection of visual material. Hence, as a *medium*, interactive documentary may provide a platform for representing reality through multiple perspectives and ends, as opposed to a one-dimensional approach. Ethical representation of reality however, does not solely depend on the medium but also on the power and control over the visual material exercised by the author. Within the domain of interactive documentary, an author may contribute towards a more ethical representation of reality by relinquishing control over the visual material and sharing the authorship with the audience.

Interactive documentary provides a new possibility for a multi-dimensional approach to representing reality. One of the key attributes of peace journalism is their multi-dimensional approach to exploring conflicts as opposed to a one-dimensional approach (Schechter 2001:1), whereby they focus on many conflicting goals, that can open up a

more creative potential for a range of outcomes (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000: 1). An interactive documentary allows the narrative to take a variety of meanings through alternative narrations and multiple perspectives and this variability of narrative's form, states Murtaugh (1996: 12), enables multiplicity of its meanings. To explain this further, I quote a simple example given by Kevin Brookes. Brookes (1999: 19), who devised the term metalevel narrative and designed an interactive storytelling system, gives the example of the story of Little Red Riding Hood. In one of the best-known published versions by the Brothers Grimm (Zipes 1987 cited by Brookes 1999: 23), Red Riding Hood is a young innocent girl sent by her mother through the forest to bring food to her grandmother. While she is instructed not to deviate from her path to avoid nefarious wolves, she deviates and catches the attention of the Big Bad Wolf. The Wolf ascertains her destination and runs ahead of her and reaches Grandmother's cottage. He eats the Grandmother, then lures Red into her Grandmother's bed and eventually eats her as well. Brookes explains how the same narrative can be viewed in multiple perspectives from a character's point of view. For example, the mother, who is aging and sends Red on a journey that probably she should take. The Wolf, who eats the Grandmother and Red and would do anything to survive, the Grandmother, who awaits a visit from her granddaughter and little Red, who is polite and oblivious to the intentions of the Wolf. One can also consider inanimate objects such as the forest, which houses the Wolf and watches Red deviate from her path, the basket of food that Red was carrying, which was woven in a traditional style and doesn't reach the grandmother and last but not the least the red riding hood itself, made by the grandmother (Brookes 1999: 21-22). In a similar way, if we translate the deconstruction of this simple story into that of a conflict situation,

then we can better understand the multiplicity of the conflict from multiple perspectives; just as a peace journalist would disaggregate the conflict into x parties, y goals and z issues, as opposed to a two party and one goal situation. This multiplicity of meanings that an interactive narrative provides enables the audience to form a more personal and a meaningful connection to the story. As a form that supports multiple meanings, the interactive narrative therefore has the potential to tell more complex and personally meaningful stories (Murtaugh 1996: 2).

Interactive documentary has the potential to address complexities by providing a greater depth and wider range of content. Lynch urges peace journalists to go deeper into the structure and causes of conflicts, so that the audience might better understand the complexities of war (Lynch 2002a: 13-14). In interactive media works, argues Druckrey (2002) sequential or arrayed information is created in forms that suggest that traditional cinema [may not always be able to] represent events that are themselves complex configurations of experience, intention and interaction (Druckrey 2002 cited in Rieser and Zapp 2002: xxii). Peace, according to Galtung, is a complex process, not linear, demanding a style of reporting that reflects multitudes of small dramas rather than one big dominant narrative. It requires a writing that is more circular, that tries to keep in mind many more aspects than one overriding dramatic Leitmotif (Galtung n.d.). When a conflict is complex, constructive deals can be made, says Lynch (2002: 10), hence, recognising an expanded number of stakeholders and their goals, expands the possible number of creative combinations of interests that can lead to solutions (ibid).

A traditional documentary inhibits authors from presenting a wider range of content, which an interactive documentary can afford. Murtaugh (1996: 2-4) mentions that filmmakers generally gather much more content than they can fit into a single narrative of a fixed time frame. The inherent need to produce one specific ‘cut’ of a story places a limitation on the use of content. Sometimes structuring a story around a particular theme might prevent the full incorporation of available material about another theme within the story (Murtaugh). James Longley’s *Gaza Strip* (2002), a film about the first Palestinian *Intefada*, is one such testimony of this limitation. Sharing his experiences of making the film, Longley states that his protagonist Mohammed, ‘*could talk the ears off a donkey and he has a great deal to say. I followed him for several weeks, recording hours of interviews and verité material. ...I fell into a routine of filming every day, all kinds of subjects ... women in tents whose houses had been bulldozed. Children dodging machine-gun fire on their way home from school. Rock-throwing demonstrations. Patients suffering in the hospitals ... A boy whose friend was blown up by an Israeli booby-trapped device... Assassinations carried out with Apache helicopters. Funerals. Lots of funeral. It ran together in my camera like a kaleidoscope...*

*All in all, I filmed more than 75 hours of material. For every minute in the finished film, there is an entire hour of material that I had to leave out’* (Longley 2002). An interactive documentary breaks away from the temporal fixity of content and therefore allows the author to provide a much wider range of content (Murtaugh 1996: 4). In this way, interactive documentary suffices the need to ‘convey the complexities involved and

provide a broader view on the conflicts, which may contribute to a greater understanding of the war and possible solutions to the war'. (Lynch 2002a: 4- 5).

Further, Murtaugh (1995: 6) states that, editing a linear documentary requires the author to consider certain limitations about his knowledge of mass audience. An author considerably lacks knowledge about each specific viewer, such as the amount of time the viewer can spend or the knowledge and interest level of the viewer. Hence, authors are compelled to gauge the range of their audience and, in the interest of broadest possible appeal, structure the narrative to 'please the lowest common denominator'. The author is obliged to conform to some 'practical' time limit and articulate the content based on a 'vague notion of broad interest or appeal'. This results in an absence of any significant depth on issues not believed to be of general interest. 'In sum, lowest common denominator programming, places depth of content in inverse relation to breadth of audience; the result is shallow and disjoint 'sound bite' programming' (Murtaugh 1995: 6-10). Conversely, in an interactive documentary, the author can provide a greater depth of content keeping the narrowest range of audience in view. Firstly, for the viewer, repetition and re-visitation of the story experience is encouraged and no constraints are placed on the duration of a session (Davenport 1995). Hence, the author's limited knowledge about the audiences' time availability and specific subject interest does not place any constraints over the editing process. From the viewer's point of view, interactivity contributes towards increasing viewer engagement with the narrative, by facilitating a specific viewer's knowledge and viewing situation (Murtaugh 1996: 10).

Interactive documentary can involve the audience in creative and collaborative co-construction of reality. One of the key attributes of interactive documentary is that it facilitates interaction of the audience at a psychological as well as at a physical level. In a traditional documentary, the audience are considered passive, since they do not exercise any control over the visual material that they are subjected to. This viewpoint however is debatable, since many critics point that the audience psychologically interact with the narrative in deciding the meaning of the visual material. Manovich (2002: 71) for example states that psychological interaction has pervaded in all art forms including cinema; which relied on cinematography to orchestrate viewer's attention over time, requiring him to focus on different parts of the display. Further, enhanced narrative techniques such as film montage put new cognitive and physical demands in viewers to quickly bridge mental gaps between unrelated images (ibid 70-74). However, as Truscello (2003) has argued, one of the distinct differences between traditional media and new (or interactive) media is that it facilitates physical interaction. Interaction such as manipulation (or using) a mouse to navigate through different choices presented in the narrative, or re-arranging of sequences in a film requires mental cognition, which is different from the Gestalt activity of psychological interaction (Truscello 2003). Audiences of interactive documentary are therefore active users or participants of the visual material and physically interact with the documentary in multiple ways. They can choose to re-visit a sequence or trace their own path through the narrative, or create their own narrative by linking sequences and so on.

Interactivity facilitates:

- (a) Multiplicity of meanings;
- (b) Audience to employ creative abilities
- (c) Socio-collaborative co-construction of represented reality and
- (d) Objective way of representing reality

In traditional documentary, the audience conventionally watch the film only once, whereas interactive documentaries allow viewers to trace their own path through the content several times, encourage re-visitation and no constraints are placed on the duration of each visitation. This helps in gaining an understanding of the story from different perspectives and facilitates multiplicity of story meaning (Murtaugh 1996: 12).

Wilson defines interactivity as the ability to act to influence the flow of events or to modify their forms transforms the audience from consumers to creators of media content. In other words, interactivity facilitates creating versus consuming (Wilson, 1994). In a traditional linear documentary, the author gathers content, which is based on associations that is later sequenced in the 'best order by a human editor' (Davenport 1996a). The editor, who is sensitive to issues of continuity and progression, puts together the presentation in a creative process. The audience of the documentary although playing an active role in deciding the meaning of the story, is not involved in that creative process. Interactive documentaries can be designed to invite the audience to share a similar creative process (Davenport 1996a) in which they can employ their creative abilities in the composition of the documentary, for example by linking *different* sequences together

to create their own narrative or even creating their own media content to form the narrative.

Apart from this creative process, the act of creating versus consuming also facilitates a socio-collaborative process, in which the narrative or the story emerges as collaboration between the author, the audience and the medium. Peace journalism has a largely co-operative or a collaborative approach, which involves people from all sides of a conflict, including the grass roots, in generating the real map of the conflict or the construction of the reality of the conflict. Interactive documentary thus, provides a platform for a democratic participation for the audience, as opposed to a traditional documentary, which doesn't entail possibilities for such participation.

Absolute objectivity and neutrality on part of an interactive documentary maker however, may not be possible. Sequential arrangement of the narrative reflects the subjective viewpoint of the documentary maker. Conversely, the audience of an interactive documentary traces his or her own path through the multiple choices and creates his or her own narrative, instead of a single narrative framed by the author. Since the narrative emerges as a collaborative co-construction between the authors, the story telling system (i.e. the software) and the audience, 'human intentionality' can be partially removed. New media objects, such as the story telling system, allow the automation of many operations involved in media creation, manipulation and access (Manovich 2000: 53). Hence interactive documentaries can be designed in ways such that the 'author sets the



rules of narrative but relinquishes some control over the concrete details of the narrative which emerges as a result of the interaction of the rules (Manovich 2002).

Further, in a traditional documentary, ‘although the ultimate understanding of any narrative depends on the author as well as the viewer, authors have generally exerted explicit control over the exact form of the narrative (Murtaugh 1996: 12). This control can potentially translate into manipulation of media such that the control can be exercised over audiences’ beliefs and ideologies. Eisenstein for example, as Manovich quotes, in the 1920s was speculating about how film can be used to externalize – and control – thinking. Experimenting in this direction Eisenstein conceived a screen adaptation of Marx’s Capital, the content of which was formulated to: ‘teach the worker to think dialectically’. ‘Eisenstein planned to present the viewer with the visual equivalents of thesis and anti-thesis, so that the viewer can then proceed to arrive at synthesis, i.e. the correct conclusion, pre-programmed by Eisenstein (Manovich 2002: 72). Conversely, in an interactive documentary, the author shares authorial control with the audience, which implies that the author relinquishes control (Brookes 1999:138). Relinquishing authorial control changes the power relationship between the author, the medium and the audience; by sharing the authorship, the author also shares the power and the responsibility to represent reality. Questioning the need for these choices and the freedom interactive media offers to the audience, Manovich (2002: 62) quotes Graham Weinbren’s, who states that ‘making choices involve moral responsibility. By passing these choices to the user, the author also passes the responsibility to represent the world and the human condition in it.’ (Manovich 2000: 62); just as a peace journalist shares the responsibility

of the social negotiation process with people from all sides of a conflict and the reading, listening and viewing public at the grass roots.

Following on from this idea of human intentionality and manipulation, to affect people's beliefs and ideologies, I would like to recall Howard's (2002) argument, that peacebuilding, requires a subjective approach. Conventionally documentary making is guided by neutrality and objectivity; hence making a documentary with a peace journalistic approach is fraught with conflicting ideologies. How can I as a filmmaker be objective, at the same time be subjective as well? It is here that the very concept of interactive documentary resolves this conflict. Since the audience of an interactive documentary trace their own path and create their own subjective view points of the represented reality, it allows the documentary maker to use a rather subjective approach in addressing larger issues, at the same time not impose his or her subjective view point on the audience. This however is not possible in the traditional form of documentary making.

A peace journalist remains with the issues at hand in the aftermath of a conflict for resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation; hence, peace journalism entails a long-term involvement and responsibility. In a traditional documentary, the content gathering process involves filming of a story, which usually ends at a certain point; the film is then edited and resolved into a story idea that is fixed within a certain time frame. In reality, however the story continues to grow. An Interactive documentary 'enables a method and program that allows the story to continue growing'. An author of an interactive

documentary can continue to add content and the documentary can continue to evolve. An example of such system is ConText, in which the content is fragmented and interconnected in an extensible 'media bank' or a database (Davenport and Murtaugh 1995). With addition of new content, the documentary continues to evolve. Such a system is particularly relevant for traditional documentaries such as Contempt of Conscience (Jenkins 2004), which addresses the issue of structural violence in the UK with regard to tax money that has been contributing to the continuing war in Iraq. Jenkins aims to bring the original film up to date with ongoing facts (Peace Tax Seven) and such initiatives can be easily facilitated with the use of interactive documentary in which the media content can evolve over time.

To summarize these;

- 1) Interactive documentary has the potential to present a more realistic way of representing what goes on in the world by facilitating multiple perspectives and possibilities to an event.
- 2) Interactive documentary can address complexities and provide a better understanding of events with multiplicity of meanings.
- 3) Interactive documentary allows the audience to interact with the media content, which facilitates multiplicity of meanings, providing a participatory process in the construction of reality through a collaborative co-construction of media content. Most significantly, it allows the author to have a subjective approach, similar to that entailed in the ethos of peace journalism, at the same time, it does not impose his or her subjective viewpoints onto the audience.

- 4) Finally, interactive documentaries such as those that have an evolving database allow representation of reality over a long term.

The above analysis thus elucidates the potential of interactive documentary as a medium that conforms to the ethos and working philosophy of peace journalism and, can be potentially used as an alternative to reporting in a post conflict long-term situation, which is at the reformation or reconciliation stage. Further, to establish its use as a peacebuilding tool, one needs to consider what attributes make an effective peacebuilding media intervention, such as type 4 and type 5 media peacebuilding projects, mentioned by Howard. To understand these attributes, it would help to review media peacebuilding projects that use the conventional media formats such as radio and television etc. In the following section, I discuss some of these projects.

### 3.5.2 Media projects in peacebuilding

Peace builders who lack elements of social cohesion such as responsible governments to work with are increasingly working with media and for professionals who are in the 'peacebuilding business', whose intentions involve a committed response to conflict, some of the techniques of journalism are proving to be effective tools (Howard 2002: 5). There are several non-governmental organizations that are dedicated to this purpose and engage in long and short-term process of conflict transformation, primarily through media-related projects. Search for Common Ground (SFCG), an American NGO founded in 1982, is one of the oldest organizations that are dedicated to harnessing the power of media for peace and progress. Their media-production division Common Ground

Production (CG) comprises CG-Radio and CG-TV, which produce programs that are multifaceted and comprise a wide spectrum of media formats. These programmes seek to change the way individuals and societies deal with conflicts, which are away from adversarial approaches towards cooperative solutions. Their vision is ‘a world in which individuals, organisations, governments and societies respond to their differences in non-adversarial ways - where those differences stimulate social progress, rather than precipitate violence’. These projects endeavour to prove that contentious issues can be examined in ways that inform and entertain, while still promoting the search for solutions (Common Ground Productions).

Along with CG, there are several other organizations and individual initiatives that produce media related projects for peacebuilding. I analyse some of these successful media peacebuilding projects, to ascertain what attributes make an effective peacebuilding project. This will help to assess the effective use of interactive documentary for peacebuilding and will also inform and influence the design of my interactive documentary.

#### 3.5.2.1. Studio Ijambo

Studio Ijambo is a USAID funded, radio production program by CG Radio. It was established in the Burundian capital of Bujumbura, at the height of ethnic and political violence in 1995. As a direct response to the significantly destructive role of the hate propaganda, the radio program aimed to support and enhance peace building and further, strengthen local capacity to manage and resolve conflict in Burundi (Hagos 2001: 18-19).

It is run by a team of Hutu and Tutsi journalists who were traditional foes, as a symbol of unity and understanding that their programs seek to foster. With a slogan of ‘Dialogue is the future’, their programs promote dialogue, peace and reconciliation by examining all sides of the conflict and highlighting points that can unite than divide people. Two of their most successful dramas are *Inkingi y’ubuntu* (Pillars of Humanity, popularly known as Heroes) and *Umubanyi niwe Muryango* (Our Neighbours, Our Selves). *Inkingi y’ubuntu* exposes real life stories of people who, during the crisis, risked their own lives to save the lives of people from other ethnic groups. While *Umubanyi niwe Muryango* is based on the daily challenges of two neighbouring families of Hutus and Tutsis, which aims to inspire listeners to identify problems faced by *the other* and understand positive, non-violent ways of resolving conflicts. These soap operas break down cultural stereotypes and illustrate how traditional foes can live together harmoniously with goodwill, humour and respect for each other.

Asgede Hagos (2001) assessed the impact of Studio Ijambo based on a survey, focus sessions and in-depth interviews of nearly 270 Burundians in eight social groups and sub-groups. The assessment focused on five interrelated areas of peacebuilding in Burundi: inter-group relations, social and political mobilization, political elite negotiations, public institutions and processes, and mass or elite conflict behaviour (ibid: 18-19). Findings provide substantial evidence that the journalistic, dramatic and cultural components of Studio Ijambo’s programs have had positive effect in all of the five areas of investigation. Most of the respondents cited that the cultural and dramatic components of the programs Heroes and Our Neighbours, Our Selves were contributory factors to the changes in their views, (their attitudes and behaviors) about members of the other ethnic group.

Furthermore, there is substantial anecdotal evidence that some programs such as ‘Heroes’ have had even deeper impact on at least some portions of the society. The studio frequently received calls and mail messages following the airing of ‘Heroes’, from some members of the audience to express regret for having participated in killings themselves or to give the names of other ‘heroes’ they knew whose stories should be told.

Based on the assessment Hagos (2001) illustrates the lessons learnt from this project, which is critical in understanding what aspects actually make a media peacebuilding project effective. Some of the five replicable practices and aspects according to Hagos are: innovation, independence, conflicting values, sustainability and networking (ibid 18-19). With regard to innovation, Hagos suggests that for a media intervention to be effective, it must use innovative approaches in programming, training and general practices of journalism to draw and sustain an audience large enough to influence public opinion. It must keep reinventing itself in order to overcome professional and cultural challenges to capture and sustain the critical mass necessary to effect meaningful change in conflict situations. Studio Ijambo’s innovative programming approaches include - letting the people define conflict and measure its effect, personalizing the conflict through shows such as ‘Heroes’ and presenting it in a relaxed, conversational tone. Such innovative approaches are critical for radio to be effective, not only as a source of credible news and information, but also as an instrument of social and political mobilization for the purposes of peace building. With regard to independence, Hagos states that independence of governmental control, at least in its operations is a necessary

precondition for a mass media intervention to obtain the necessary results in peace building.

One of the primary functions of such an intervention is to serve as a reliable forum for all sides to the conflict and for it to be effective; it must be viewed by all sides as being impartial and credible. To counter conflicting values in a society where secrecy and ethnic loyalty is more valued than journalistic values of openness and objectivity, Hagos suggests, such culturally based challenges must be overcome or at least minimized early through rigorous training and innovative investigative approaches. Sustainability is a key issue in any media peacebuilding project. According to Howard, sustainability means financial survival in economies that are not used to advertising revenues for their survival, and can continue broadcasting after the foreign donor has gone home. In this regard, Hagos suggests indigenization of such media interventions can ensure sustainability. Studio Ijambo is supporting its journalists to set up their own independent radio with the same aims as Studio Ijambo. Finally, with regard to networking, Hagos recommends that Studio Ijambo should explore the possibility of working with regional actors in media sector, not only to expand its audience, but also to protect itself from any attempt to silence it by any single country (ibid 18-19).

Some of the key attributes that I consider from this project are:

- 1) The content design of the Studio's programmes served to promote dialogue, examine all sides of a conflict, highlight points that can unite people, inspire



- listeners to identify problems faced by the ‘other’ and understand positive, non-violent ways of resolving conflicts and finally, break down cultural stereotypes.
- 2) The studio’s programmes had journalistic, dramatic and cultural components, which were effective in changing the views (attitudes and behaviors) of the ethnic groups about each other.
  - 3) Hagos suggests that for a media intervention to be effective, it must use innovative approaches in programming and general practices of journalism to draw and sustain an audience large enough to influence public opinion. It must keep reinventing itself in order to overcome cultural challenges to capture and sustain the critical mass necessary to effect meaningful change.
  - 4) The studio’s innovative approaches include letting the people define conflict and measure its effect, personalizing the conflict through shows such as ‘Heroes’ and presenting it in a relaxed, conversational tone.
  - 5) It is important for such a media intervention to be independent of government control to obtain the necessary results in peace building. It must be impartial and credible to serve as a reliable forum for all sides to a conflict.
  - 6) The media intervention must be sustainable.
  - 7) Finally, for assessing the impact of the project, Hagos used a survey, focus sessions and in-depth interviews of nearly 270 people in eight social groups and sub-groups.
  - 8) The impact assessment focused on five interrelated areas of peacebuilding that are relevant to the conflict in Burundi.

#### 3.5.2.2. New home new life

New Home New Life was a BBC World Service Broadcast, radio soap opera, which is one of the most successful intended outcome programming media interventions (Howard 2002:27) into the war-torn country of Afghanistan. For eight years, until September 11, 2001, the BBC beamed programmes from transmitters in Pakistan, on different subjects that include conflict reduction, mine safety, reduction of violence against women and so on. The BBC programmers found that the Afghani people were starved for entertainment, and through entertainment, they received life-saving and behaviour-changing information (Adam and Holguin 2001: 8-9). Gordon Adam, who was responsible for BBC broadcasting to Afghanistan, was involved in starting up this soap opera. According to Adam, this was the single most listened-to program in the country. Adam states that it was designed in a way that was '*educational in purpose but entertaining in format*'. It was a story about a community surviving at a time of conflict (ibid: 8). The BBC listener surveys in Afghanistan confirmed that the program was successful in altering behaviour; for example the children stopped picking up butterfly bombs and the malnourished mothers switched diets while nursing babies (Howard 2002:27).

In an analysis of the program's popularity, Adam (2001) states that it is 'mostly because the listeners had assumed ownership of it - it deals with issues close to their hearts, in a way they understand and can make sense of. For many listeners, this was their own story, and 'that's why they continue to listen and, we believe, learn. It is an unusual example of an international broadcaster having the kind of impact normally associated with the participatory programming of community radio' (ibid: 9). Adam gives an example of a

storyline, which created a huge popular reaction in the community. It was about a quarrel between two families, during which one of the respected elders *Faiz Mohammed* is killed in crossfire. Like many other stories, this was aimed at providing a practical lesson in peacebuilding. The outcry from listeners was immediate; not only did the BBC office receive numerous calls and letters of protest but they even held a memorial service for this fictional character, in a local mosque in the Pakistani frontier town of Chaman. This, Adam says, is an extreme example of listeners taking over ownership of the programme.

Further, in terms of peacebuilding, the results were longer lasting. The BBC had anecdotal evidence that for several months afterwards, at a number of *jirgahs* (meetings of elderly Afghans, trying to solve disputes peacefully), there were warnings that ‘we don’t want any *Faiz Mohammeds* here’, this story epitomised the awful consequences of trying to solve disputes with weapons. ‘This is the power of radio drama – through a fictional tragedy; it can touch the hearts of millions of people’ (ibid: 9).

Another issue that this soap opera brought forward was the practice of ‘bad’ in which a woman is given by a guilty party (usually a killer) in order to make peace with his enemy. Although it solves the dispute, such women lead a miserable life as they are seen as relatives of the enemy. A storyline brought out the misery of this situation when one of the principle characters was given in this way. Evaluations showed that the ‘bad’ storyline generated a dialogue between people about this topic for the first time. They felt free to discuss its morality in the fictional context of the radio soap opera, which gave them a ‘safe space’ to discuss what was a very sensitive topic (ibid: 9).

Adam summarizes three lessons that can be drawn from New Home New Life. *First*, is that a radio drama is a very effective vehicle for prompting people to think about the consequences of their actions. *Second*, it is a long-term involvement. These storylines went on for months, and the key messages were reinforced in related storylines over a period of years. The *third* aspect, Adam states is Dudley Week's quote, 'doing the do-able'. This soap opera focused not on major conflicts, which were complex, but on community based conflicts where listeners could exercise influence by doing things differently (ibid: 9).

Some of the key attributes that I consider from this project are:

- 1) The content of the programme was designed in a way that was 'educational in purpose but entertaining in format'.
- 2) The programme was popular mostly because the listeners had assumed ownership of it. It dealt with issues close to their hearts; in a way, they understand and can make sense of. For many listeners, this was their own story, and that's why they continue to listen and learn.
- 3) The programme gave them a 'safe space' to discuss what was rather a very sensitive topic.
- 4) A radio drama is a very effective vehicle for prompting people to think about the consequences of their actions.

- 5) It is a long-term involvement, involving months and even years.
- 6) Finally, it is about ‘doing the do-able’. The soap opera focussed on community based conflicts (as opposed to major complex conflicts), where listeners could exercise influence by doing things differently.

#### 3.5.2.3. Los Nuevos Vecinos (The New Neighbours)

Los Nuevos Vecinos was a radio soap opera developed in Colombia after the earthquake that affected el Quindio, Caldas y Risaralda in 1999. It was a part of the communication project for the reconstruction carried by the ONG Viva la ciudadanía. Lina Holguin (2001), who was involved in the development of the project and coordinated the creation of the story, states that the project aimed to help people make sense of the chaos resulting from the natural disaster and to give them tools to reconstruct their communities in a peaceful manner. The story revolved around the living conditions faced by the victims living in camps and temporary housing. The program recounted day-to-day life and how inhabitants were transformed by their experiences. It had one hundred and twenty episodes that were broadcast over eight months on three commercial radio stations and fourteen community radios. It reached audiences to the twenty-eight villages affected and was the second highest rated radio program.

According to Holguin (2001: 10), there are three aspects that attributed to the success of the project. *First*, is the relevance of the issues dealt within the story; it helped people in the camps understand the importance of dialogue for resolving their differences. Holguin

quotes one member of the audience, ‘Like in Los Nuevos Vecinos we have to work together, to rebuild our homes and our lives’, and others stated that radio soap opera gave them tools to organize the community and to improve their living conditions. The *second* aspect, is that of ‘the participatory process in which it was created and produced’. The *third* is what Holguin quotes as the ‘sound quality’, which refers to the atmosphere created, which was realistic, as the voices used were not those of professional actors but of community members. According to Holguin, this was a creative media project that contributed to social construction, peacebuilding and in bringing communities together. It also demonstrated that positive results depend on the partnership between commercial and community media, the community and other organizations (ibid: 10).

Some of the key attributes that I consider from this project are:

- 1) One of the factors that contributed to the success of the project was the relevance of issues in the content of the program.
- 2) The programs were created and produced using a participatory process.
- 3) The atmosphere created within the program was realistic; it used people from the community as opposed to professional actors.
- 4) Finally, a project’s success also depends on the partnership between commercial and community media, the community and other organizations.

#### 3.5.2.4. Nashe Maalo (Our Neighbourhood)

One of CG TV's most successful series, *Nashe Maalo (Our Neighbourhood)* is a central tool of SFCG's approach to building tolerance and understanding across ethnic barriers in Macedonia's emerging democracy. It is a popular kids' TV show that is geared to 7 to 12 year old children and features six children of Albanian, Macedonian, Roma and Turkish backgrounds as the central characters of the series. *Nashe Maalo* uses film and animation to craft messages intended to reduce social tension and strengthen inter-ethnic relations. The series not only encourages conflict prevention in a multicultural society, but also imparts specific conflict-resolution skills that children can use in their everyday lives. The story line involves these children from different ethnic backgrounds, living in the same apartment block and sharing a secret that the apartment building (called *Karmen*) can talk, which offers them non-violent solutions to their daily crises. The evaluation of this programme and impact analysis was done by surveys that were conducted and focus groups related to different subjects such as perception of conflicts, knowledge about other ethnic communities, knowledge about other languages, social distance, resistance to social pressure and interdependence (Brusset and Otto 2004:56-58). Research findings have shown that this series is making a difference (Shochat 2001 cited in IMPACS 2001:10). Macedonian children say they find the series authentic, identifiable with the troubles of living in divided communities, that they enjoy the episodes' mediated solutions to those troubles, and they love its humour. The program's greatest measurement of success, however, may be that the theme song for the series was been made into a rock video, using singers of three different ethnicities. Apparently, kids all over the country sing that song on their way to school. This kind of overtly programmed

media is reaching the stage where most major international agencies, and certainly the UN in every peacekeeping mission, build a media project into their operations.

Other successful media peacebuilding projects include *Talking Drum Studio*, *Simunye dialogue* (We are one), *Radio GalKayo*, *Angola-Song of peace*, documentary *The shape of the Future* and so on. To summarize the attributes inherent in most of these projects that makes them effective tools for peacebuilding:

1. Media peacebuilding projects address complexities of the conflict and provide a non-partisan platform for dialogue.
2. These projects incorporate a participatory process, whereby the audience engage as well as interact. The audience also engage in the creative process of the project, such as the design or the making of the programme. These projects also have a feedback system, which review audience feedback, based on which they evaluate and alter the programme.
3. It is sustainable and a long-term process, which needs innovation and participation from audience for a long and sustained engagement.

Based on these attributes, it maybe inferred that an interactive documentary as a medium has the capacity to fulfil the complex needs of a long-term peacebuilding and can be used as an effective mode for peacebuilding. However, a linear documentary may not have all the attributes required for an effective long-term peacebuilding project. To use an interactive documentary effectively, it is however, extremely important to address is



challenges which need to be considered in the making of a peacebuilding project. I discuss these challenges in the next section.

### **3.6 Challenges of interactive documentary**

It is observed that interactive documentary have a lot of potential in comparison to its linear counterpart, however there are also a number of challenges. Traditional cinema and documentary still reign the ‘viewing regime (Manovich 2002: 100) with its homogenous cinematic conventions and have been every influential in sensitizing the audience.

Interactive media and documentary on the other hand, have heterogeneous cinematic conventions, the dynamics of which, are often marred by ineffectuality in sustained audience engagement. The collapse of celluloid aesthetics has led to several challenges such as ‘narrative chaos’ (Rieser and Zapp 2002 xxv), undue veneration of interactivity, with ‘poorly formulated claims for interactivity as the new narrative’ (ibid) and ‘alienation of an audience in favour of single users’ (Druckery 2002 cited in Rieser and Zapp 2002: xxii). Considering these challenges, interactive media faces the challenge of emotionally engaging the audience beyond its tenuous ascription of artistic value. I broadly categorize these challenges as:

1. Lack of meaningful interaction, in which I primarily discuss the problems of interpellation and interpassivity.
2. Lack of sustained audience engagement due to split screens and non-coherent multi-narrative formations.
3. Lack of mass accessibility

There are different structures of interactive documentaries and each offer different kinds of interaction. A large part of the problem with successfully integrated interactive and narrative forms stem from the models of their constructions. In hypermedia for example, the author creates links between pieces of content forming a kind of flow chart or graph structure into which the viewer is placed to navigate. In this sense, the author works directly at the level of the viewer interaction. These constrain the user to navigate within a pre-determined matrix of interaction inherent within the model of hypermedia (Murtaugh 1996).

One of its inherent limitations is that the resulting structure is static and lacks the capacity to store knowledge. The structure does not have any built-in competency for presenting itself apart from the viewer's direct use of links or branch points (Murtaugh 1996).

Further, Manovich explains that interactive media fits into the concept of externalizing and objectifying mind's operations. The principle of hyper linking objectifies the process of association often taken to be central to human thinking. Mental processes of reflection, problem solving, recall and association are externalized, equated with following a link, moving to a new page, choosing a new image, or a new scene. Users of interactive media follow 'pre-programmed objectively existing associations' – in, what Manovich calls, an 'updated version of Althusser's concept of interpellation', in which the user is asked to mistake the structure of somebody else's mind for their own. Hence the user follows the mental trajectory of the new media designer or the author (Manovich 2002: 70-74). This concept is also prevalent in traditional cinema; in the 1970s, film theorists, used this concept to posit that mainstream cinema acts as an 'apparatus' to position the viewer to

‘misrecognize’ herself through her identification with the fictional characters on the screen. Although many critics have rejected this ‘anti-humanist’ approach, which minimizes the possibility of individual agency and control in the process, the concept of interpellation still provides a useful framework in those cases when film viewers seem to react in perfect synchronization to the ideological cues within a film, especially when the cues relate to individual psychology and character identification.

The other aspect I would like to highlight is that of interpassivity. While interactivity is a critical vehicle in user’s experience, it may in practice be also associated with the phenomena of ‘interpassivity’ as Žižek (1998: 7) says, ‘*one is tempted to supplement the fashionable notion of interactivity, with its shadowy and uncanny supplement/double, the notion of interpassivity*’. Žižek says, that in new electronic media claims, while the passive consumption of text or work is over, and the user increasingly interacts with it, entering into a dialogic relationship with it, the other side of interactivity is interpassivity (ibid). Žižek’s concept of interpassivity explains how works of art and media sometimes seem to provide for their own reception. Žižek explains, in interactive arrangements, the works of art ‘outsources’ part of its realization to the viewer (or the user / consumer), while interpassive arrangements take up a part normally played by the viewer (or the user / consumer), in terms of the enjoyment or ‘consumption’ of the work of art- making the viewer’s involvement (or engagement) ‘superfluous’. In this case the ‘artwork aims to consummate itself’ actively dis-interesting the spectator in its realization; in such case, the interpassive subject’s act of cognition or perception ‘transgresses’ (Oenen 2006) between the subject and the object (or machine) which is meant to stimulate it. Eija-Liisa

Ahtila's video installation (Tate Modern, 2002) explicitly illustrates this with monitors facing different directions, including each other, broadcasting their content oblivious to human attention. *'The viewer is either shut out, or caught in between, interpassively – the media enjoying through the viewers and the viewers through the media, albeit indifferently'*. The process of interpassivity is a 'continual reinforcement of interactivity, meaning an optimal interaction between the functions of human and machine in the production process, matched by a loss of involvement and interest in the objective and the product of the process' (Oenen 2004: 6). Žižek (1998) further states that the user of the interactive device *allows* the machine to be active on his or her own behalf, thereby displacing any activity of her own. The activity of the user is projected into the machine; that 'observers did not want to observe, but preferred to delegate their observation to the artwork (cf. Pfaller 1998, (ed.) 2000; Žižek 2004). One need not necessarily accept this edifice of Žižekian psychoanalytical theory. However, with interactive media that make compulsive use of technology, instead of a subversive use of technology placed within a context, one could arguably pose the same question that Žižek poses. *'What if the subjective gesture... is not that of autonomously 'doing something' but, rather, that of the primordial substitution, of withdrawing and letting another do it for me, in my place?*

What if the most natural form of 'activity' - which interactive technologies facilitate - is to let something else [the computer] be active in one's own place (Žižek 1997: 118- 119). Within the context of this research and the use of interactive documentary, it is important to consider the use of a simple interaction mode as opposed to a cumbersome one, which might lead the viewer into a mode of interpassivity, as opposed to a meaningful interaction.

There are various aspects in interactive media works that affect sustained audience engagement. Considering the multifarious choices and controls these works offer, the problems of sustained audience engagement arise from discontinuities indicated by window frames, buttons, sliders and other navigational controls, scrolling text and short video clips in small windows. All of these provide for a rather non-cinematic engagement with the media content (Freeman et al 2000: 5-6). According to Freeman, making decisions about the order of events is likely to result in disengagement by interfering with user's concentration on the events themselves. Hence, the more conspicuous and cumbersome interactive actions are, the greater the risk of disrupting concentration and compromising emotional engagement with the content. This reduces the user's attention to the business of decision-making and control (ibid: 6).

Further, Ben-Shaul (2001:1) gives the example of interactive media works such as Chris Marker's *Immemory*, Mike Figgi's *Time Code*, Bob Bejan's *I'm your man*, Weinbren's *Sonata*), which on the one hand enhance new media aesthetics of non-coherence, non-closure and de-centering characterizing post-modern conceptions, but fail to achieve narrative cinema's deep sustained and wide-ranged engagement. Instead they offer what Ben-Shaul calls a 'narrow ranged engagement characterizing social games' (2001: 1). According to Ben-Shaul, interactive media require an increased cognitive investment on the parts of users, compared to passive viewers of traditional cinema. In the course of engagement, distraction results from split attention problems generated by these works. Split attention results from simultaneously evolving occurrences on multiple screens,

non-critical use of split screens, from decentred, non-cohering complex audio-visual articulations and multi-narrative formations (ibid: 1-2).

For interactive audio-visual texts to sustain wide-ranged engagement, multi-tasking split attention problems inherent in interactive media works have to be managed, and - most importantly - made to enhance rather than reduce engagement. In the context of story telling engines used for making interactive documentaries, for example, it is a challenge to integrate the fluid continuity of cinematic experience, with the kinds of choice and control that hypermedia affords. One needs to critically manage all the choices and controls to create an interactive experience that sustains viewer's emotional involvement with streaming media (Freeman et al 2000: 5-6). Interactive films such as Carnegie Mellon University's, *Oz Project*, Bregtje van der Haak's, *Lagos/Koolhaas Interactive version*, 2004, Shirin Nashat's *Turbulent*, 1998 *Mahdokht*, 2004 and other split framed short movies, create a balance between interaction and narrative cinema and use cinematic audio-visual continuity editing strategies for sustained audience engagement.

Finally, one of the most pertinent issues with interactive media works is their accessibility, which for the purpose of peacebuilding is very critical. For use of interactive documentary for peacebuilding, it is imperative to have a large audience and most importantly to reach the targeted audience, which interactive cinema do not *often* afford due to their locale specific physical interface and other accessibility preconditions. For example, interactive documentaries and installations such as *CyberBELT*, (1995), *Hall of Shadows*, (1995), *Landscape One* (1998), *Weird View* (2001), *SoftCinema* (2002),

*Office Voodoo* (2003), *TViews* (2003), *Textable movie* (2004). Traditional cinema on the other hand, with its fixed 'physical interface' of the 'dark chamber' (Manovich, 2000) has movie houses all over the world and is also accessible in other video and DVD formats. Accessibility of this medium by mass audience has been an instrumental factor for cinema's influential role in sensitizing audience over decades. Interactive cinemas on the contrary are computer mediated and can be accessed on videodisk-based applications and CD ROMs such as *Aspen* (1981), *New Orleans Interactive* (1987), *Elastic Charles* (1989), *Homer* (1992), *Jinxed* (1993), *The twelve loveliest things I know* (1996), *Grandad* (2000). They are also available on other computer mediated installations, and broadband, i.e. the Internet such as *Jerome B. Wiesner: a Random walk through the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (1996), *The New Arrival* (2000), *LoveStory project* (2002), *13terStock* (2005). Accessibility of interactive cinemas are thus, often confined to gallery and museum settings with a miniscule audience of artistic inquisitiveness, intellect and scholarship, as opposed to the 'public' of mass audience, which fails to generate an evolving and an effectual social discourse, which is needed to create a foundation for a peace-building initiative.

For interactive documentary to be accessible by mass audience, it needs to be accessible through a mass medium. For this purpose, 'the mass medium of the internet' (Morris, Ogan, 1996), would be most suitable that can allow audience reception, interaction and participation. This would therefore enable an accessible and a sustainable platform for social discourse for peacebuilding.

Considering these challenges, it is imperative to use an interactive documentary with a structure that:

1. Provides a meaningful interaction, where the audience can exercise choice and control, as well as engage with the media content.
2. For sustained audience engagement, there should be a judicious use of split screens and simple mode of navigation. The interface should be designed in a way that enhances cinematic engagement, for example maintaining the rectangular screen (Manovich 2000). This is largely important, since mostly people are accustomed to the rectangular cinematic screen of traditional cinema and not used to interactive media artworks with multiple and deconstructed screens. To provide a cinematic experience, it is imperative to have an interface that best provides that feel of a cinema screen.
3. Most significantly, the interactive documentary should be sustainable on the Internet, so that it is mass accessible.

### **3.7 Chapter summary**

To summarize this chapter, I conclude:

1. Peacebuilding needs a subjective mode of intervention, such as peace journalism and other peace building media interventions that are committed to the resolution of conflict.
2. Interactive documentary as a medium conforms to the ethos of working principles of peace journalism and entails those attributes necessary for an effective peacebuilding media project.



3. To consider its use for peacebuilding, it is however, equally necessary to consider its challenges that can contribute to its use effectively.

In the following chapter I discuss the making of the interactive documentary, which I have developed considered the literature reviewed in this chapter.

## **4. CREATIVE PRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I discuss the structure of the story telling system that I use for making the interactive documentary and the advantages of using this system. Following which I explain how the Korsakow system fulfils the requirements of an interactive documentary that can be used for peacebuilding and finally I discuss the making of the interactive documentary ‘An eye for an eye?’

### **4.1 The Korsakow story telling system**

The Korsakow system is a database driven interactive story authoring system (Thalhofer, 2000), that facilitates the creation of non-deterministic narratives, where non-deterministic implies that the emergent narrative cannot be determined by the author and emerges as a result of collaboration between the author, the storytelling system and the audience. The system allows the author to develop a narrative structure while providing the user (audience) with adequate control over the play out of the constructed story, although authorial control is maintained within each narrative strand. In Korsakow, the content is thus programmatically generated; it organizes data and structures user’s experience of viewing the visual content through non-linear and random navigation.

#### **4.1.1. The structure of the Korsakow system**

The System has three components, the Korsakow Engine, which is the storytelling engine, the Korsakow tool where the author programmatically stipulates the narrative structure and the database which contains all the media objects (movie parts). The

Korsakow engine, with its associated user interface mediates the user's access to the database of content. Programming within the Korsakow system is simplistic and does not require specialized languages as Java, xml or aiml and the like. Each movie clip is associated with its smallest narrative unit known as SNU (Emigholz cited in Thalhoffer 2003). SNUs are the smallest digital composite of the interrelated collection of movie parts of the story. Each SNU is assigned a Meta data tag, a key word, (Thalhoffer 2000). One of the unique characteristics of an interactive database narrative is the metadata. Metadata is the 'invisible information' (Anderson 2004: 1) attached to a database that allows the system to create combinations of story elements based on an algorithmic logic. A metadata driven narrative, as Manovich puts it, depends on 'algorithmic editing'; it's an automated system for combining elements according to prescribed rules based on the formal properties or content of media clips (Manovich 2000: 1). The keywords connect the SNUs with each other, creating a nexus of connected sequences. The relationship of SNUs programmatically defined by the key words thus reflects the structural composition of the sequences for the presentation of the story. The Korsakow interface is segmented into a combination of one large display with three or six small displays of SNUs. When the user makes his selection, the selected publication fills the screen, randomly generating three new SNUs for the user to browse and click. Thematic viewpoint becomes the navigational axes for continuous or discontinuous flow of the user's personal experience of the story.

#### 4.1.1.1 Purpose of the previews of the Smallest Narrative Units (SNUs)

The previews of SNUs used in the narrative have text annotations. These texts may have some words, phrases, incomplete sentences or questions. These texts have two purposes, they *firstly* function as guidelines for the viewer to make choices of the narratives, and so the viewer reviews the text on the SNUs and decides which narrative to view. For example:

Figure 17: Screen shot of the previews of the SNUs, which give choices to the viewer

*Secondly*, these text annotations also allow the viewer to connect to their thoughts, beliefs, past experiences or any associations related to the text. By being presented with someone else's thoughts, beliefs, experiences or associations, in the narrative, they are challenged about their perceptions about the 'other' in the same or different communities.

Figure 18: Screen shot of the changed previews that are randomly generated when the viewer chooses one particular preview of the SNU.

The author, the user and the content thus collaborate in the co-construction of the meaning of the story, removing the element of human intent as a structural organizer of

the storyscape. The stipulated narrative structure is intended to involve the user in a personalized journey of the storyscape rather than a fixated destination, assembling a unique meaning with each visitation, thereby generating multiplicity of meaning with multiple visitations. In order to arrest users' span of attention, the 'quality of the story is critical and must support the form; the story must be rich enough to warrant multiple renditions (Agamanolis et al 2000:456).

#### 4.1.2. Advantages of the Korsakow System

The Korsakow System in terms of its structure and functionality serves as a potentially effective tool for storytelling for the purpose of my interactive documentary. As a structure, it overcomes many of challenges defined above and has many advantages over other potential story authoring systems.

Scaling the story and scaling the telling Problem of Scaling the Story and Scaling the Telling -Hypermedia systems constructed in this way are extremely difficult to 'scale' i.e. to include large amounts of content. As each new piece is added, the author must consider the potential linkage of that piece of content to every piece of content already in the system. In this way, adding content is an exponentially complex task. Furthermore, such systems place the author in the position of effectively pre-thinking all possible viewer pathways through the content. Every 'hard-coded' link between two pieces of content in effect freezes the function or intention of the linkage into the structure of the navigation. Thus, the organization of the story is difficult to scale as any change in 'retrieval'

functionality necessitates large-scale changes to the pre-coded link structure (Murtaugh 1996)

Coherent Screen Segmentation In most new media documentaries, the screen space is segmented. The two important influences on the spatiality of multimedia are the desire to offer multiple elements or representations leading to a variety of composite displays (Zeigler and Oren 1986: 708) and the need to provide access to more information displayed on the screen simultaneously, to necessitate selection and choice. With multiple screen interfaces, lack of visual semantic relations between windows can lead to a situation where the windows desired by the user get obscured by other undesired windows. This reportedly leads to poor user performance compared with configurations, which preserve the visibility of items (Kandogan and Shneiderman: 1997: 250). The Korsakow interface is segmented into a combination of one large display with three or six small displays of SNUs. According to Davis and Jones (2001), the more freedom given to the user, the greater the difficulty in using the practices of spatial articulation, exploited in film (2001: 1-2).

The simplicity of spatial articulation in Korsakow with coherent screen segmentation and limited user control, firstly avoids complexity or/and obscurity of windows desired by the user and secondly avoids ‘cognitive overload generated by cognitive and behavioral multitasking’ (Ben-Shaul 2001: 3), thus enabling a non-distractive smooth navigational flow in user experience of the narrative. This non-distractive smooth navigational flow can be attributed similar to a ‘less-choice, more-responsiveness’ (Pinhanez et al 2000: 1)

approach that has been used to design single path story-based interactive environment, which does not depend on narrative with multiple story lines to manifest interactivity.

Figure 19: The Korsakow interface with split screens

Simplistic mode of interaction Korsakow films, which can be viewed online, on computer or an installation. A user can view and interact with a mouse, which is a simple and a commonly used device for interaction as opposed to other tools of interaction which have been described as 'curiously alienating devices' (Poole 2000) such as joy sticks, joy pads and other complex and cumbersome

'interaction technologies as speech recognizers, eye graze trackers or data gloves' as in CYBERBELT (Bers et al 1995). Multiple users can interact with a Korsakow film on a location specific installation, with the use of laser pointer as used in the Korsakow film 13terStock (Thalhofer and Mensing 2005). The simplicity of interaction tool combined with simple spatial articulation and limited user control enables group harmony for multiple viewers to interact with the film simultaneously.

Randomness One of the unique characteristics of interactive database narratives, as defined by Anderson is randomness. Randomness, as Anderson posits, is 'the evil twin of interactivity' and a 'tactic that undermines the control a user is able to exert over his narrative experience'. Randomness facilitates a sense of surprise, but also has the practical function of showing the user what he has not seen yet; it provides new combinations and encourages new associations. A random narrative experience can be engaging if the narrative elements can gain coherence while resisting conventional logics of cause and effect (Anderson 2004: 2).

Dynamism The third unique characteristics of interactive database narrative is dynamism, which provides the antidote to the closed narrative system, allowing users to control not just the sequencing of designated SNUs, but to add or alter the basic narrative elements.



A truly dynamic database is expandable and reconfigurable, capable of talking to a narrative engine by means of metadata and a predefined organizational architecture. (Anderson 2004: 2). A Korsakow database narrative although random, has a fixed dataset and is not expandable or extensible. However, when published online, it offers dynamism and is expandable by algorithmic editing and addition, removal or alteration of SNUs by the author.

Accessibility of a Korsakow narrative A Korsakow database narrative can be stored on a CD Rom; it can be relayed as an installation and can be published online. Although individual sites and portals on the World Wide Web, were designed to serve a semi-coherent database of ‘document’, ‘one page’ at a time, with the exception of MUDs (multiple user dimensions or dungeons and MOOs), the culture generally sees the World Wide Web as an information resource rather than a storytelling opportunity’ (Agamanolis et al 2000). The Korsakow system, is the ‘first database cinema, which works online i.e. on the internet’ (Manovich 2003 cited in Schillinger 2003), thus exploits this opportunity of the World Wide Web for storytelling as a sustainable net-based new media (or interactive) documentary and is the future of broad band cinema.

#### 4.1.3. Models of authorship in the Korsakow system

According to Manovich, authoring software shapes how the author understands the medium he works in, which consequently plays a crucial role in shaping the final form of a techno-cultural text, in other words, the author’s work. For the reader (user) who accesses this text through the software interface, this interface similarly shapes his

understanding of the text; types of data the text contain, it's organization, what else is possible or not possible to communicate. In addition, software tools allow the authors and the users to re-mix new cultural texts out of existing texts (Manovich 2002). Manovich proposes different types of authorships and I draw the relationship between these types of authorship and the Korsakow system, which helps establish the type of authorship that are involved in the creation of text (or narrative).

Human-software collaboration Emergent authorship with the Korsakow system involves primarily two forms of collaborative authorship. The first is the *Human-software collaboration* (Manovich 2002), which involves collaboration between the author and software. The author sets the rules of narrative but has no control over the concrete details of narrative, which emerges as a result of the interaction of the rules. This form of authorship enables certain creative operations and ways of thinking, while discouraging others.

Authorship by selection... The second is Authorship by selection (Manovich, 2002), this implies to the designer (author) and the user. For the author, the design process involves section from various menus of software packages and database of media assets. While the user, selects and co-constructs the sequences in the emergent narrative of the film.

Cultural Authorship... Distribution of culture, from texts to music to videos, is increasingly moving online. The Open source model is one among a number of different models of authorship (and ownership), which emerged in the software community and is

being applied to cultural authorship. Examples of such models are the original project Xanadu by Ted Nelson- 'freeware' and 'shareware'. The OPUS (Open Platform for Unlimited Signification) created by Rags Media Collective, New Delhi, is a software and an accompanying theoretical package which is designed to enable possible multi-user cultural collaboration in a digital network environment. OPUS allows anybody to start a new project and invite other people to download and upload media objects to project's area on the OPUS site. OPUS software is downloadable and can be put on new servers. When authors upload new media objects, (anything from a text to a piece of music) the author can specify what modifications are allowed on the original media object (Manovich 2002).

The Korsakow, as a story authoring system is a free software, downloadable by artists and authors for creating cinematic or other forms of narrative. However, the software code of Korsakow is not modifiable by others, as is the case in Open Source Model form of authorship where the key idea is that the software code originally written by one person (or group) can cascade and is thus modifiable by other users. When viewed in relation to the model of open source programming communities, as free software, the Korsakow system simplifies access to both the creation and dissemination of interactive database narratives (Anderson 2004: 2). The new media documentary using the Korsakow system, resulting from this research draws upon the concept of OPUS for *cultural authorship* and *collaboration between different individuals and/or groups*, forming a network of social communication (Manovich 2002). The interactive documentary, which is a database of discrete media, clips, allows individual clips to be

downloaded (for iPods) and also allows users (viewers) to upload media objects such as media clips onto the site of the new media documentary. The rules of authorship are set forth for users to upload media clips with regard to the content; however there are no constraints over what they use to create the media object, allowing users to use high or low-end technology devices such as mobile phone cameras. The emergent space collating aesthetic and/or non-aesthetic multimedia formats from the users becomes a platform of collaborative authorship for an evolving documentary, which may not be a masterpiece. Manovich (2002) states that while the new media culture may not have produced any 'masterpieces', it has a huge impact on how people and organizations communicate. Along with database, navigable space, simulation and interactivity, new cultural forms enabled by new media also include new patterns of social communication. The network-enabled process of collaboration, networking, and exchange is a valuable form of contemporary culture, regardless of whether it results in any 'objects' or not.

#### **4.2 Korsakow as a medium for media peace building project**

As mentioned earlier, an effective peacebuilding project requires certain attributes that make them effective tools. While it is important to consider the content of the project, which has to be pertinent to the issues addressed, I discuss how Korsakow as a story-authoring tool can be used as a medium for this purpose.

Media peacebuilding projects address complexities of the conflict and provide a non-partisan platform for dialogue. As a database story telling system, the Korsakow system allows a large amount of content to be presented to the audience, and hence has the capacity to address issues in a wider and a multidimensional way. Further, it has the capacity to present content that is randomly generated; hence, it presents a non-partisan way of presenting content to the audience. Media peacebuilding projects incorporate a participatory process, whereby the audience engage as well as interact. The audience also engage in the creative process of the project, such as the design or the making of the programme. In Korsakow the audience trace their own path and create their own narratives, hence they form their own subjective viewpoints as opposed to the author's. Currently, there is no feedback system available in the Korsakow system, however, since it is Internet based, there is a possibility for the audience to leave their comments and convey their views. Further, in the interactive documentary that I am developing, the audience have the choice of contributing to the film further, by posting their own videos on the site, which will be added to the documentary as an evolving documentary. Media peacebuilding projects are sustainable and a long-term process, which need innovation and participation from audience for a long and sustained engagement. Since Korsakow is an extensible database storytelling system which can sustain large amounts of content, and presents the content in a random order, every time the audience visit, they get a different story, this not only facilitates multiplicity of meaning but also encourages re-visitation. Further, since Korsakow is sustainable on the Internet, it can mass accessible, which is one of the most important requirements for a media peacebuilding project. It is important, however to specify that the use of such a system for a media peacebuilding

projects needs to be in a place which does not fall in the digital divide. Further, the place, which has such a need, has an audience who access the Internet and have basic computer literacy skills, such as logging onto a computer, accessing the Internet and using the mouse for navigation. In the following section, I discuss the making of the project i.e. the interactive documentary, *An eye for an eye?*

The prospects of peace-building using this system lie in its sustainability on the internet<sup>8</sup> allowing democratic distribution and it's non-deterministic characteristic of navigation allowing a democratic platform for shared authorship and participatory experience.

#### **4.3 The making of an eye for an eye**

In the making of this interactive documentary, I have considered Search For Common Ground's (SFCG's) recommendation about necessary steps in media project planning.

While there is no magic recipe for implementing a successful media project, SFCG suggests three basic steps that every project should take in order to ensure accountability as well as effectiveness and sustainability. These are:

1. Pre-Project Assessment, which include, Context Analysis and Media assessment.
2. Project design and implementation and
3. Post project Assessment and evaluation

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<sup>8</sup> Note: for the purpose of this research, internet (or net based) is regarded as part of mass media communication, Merrill Morris, Christine Ogan, *The Internet as Mass Medium* (The Journal of Communication, Volume 46 Issue 1 -March 1996 p 39)

Considering these steps in the design of the interactive documentary, I first consider the context analysis, which includes the country's (or countries') histories and dynamics of the conflict and the overall political situation. These include the type and phase of conflict faced by the country concerned and if it is an appropriate time for a media-based intervention for conflict transformation (Melone et al 2002: 5-6).

#### 4.3.1. Context analysis

In response to the context analysis, as proposed by SFCG, I consider the contemporary situation of global violence post 9/11, which started with 9/11 and then continued with the Afghan war, the Iraq war and the much speculated impending war on Iran. Therefore subject specifics of the interactive documentary, relates to global violence post 9/11; the intellectual background to which is derived from a *mélange* of contemporary theories that envisaged the probabilities of contemporary wars, as an ancillary process to the decaying of nation states (Bobbitt 2002), universalization of democracy (Fukuyama 1989) and the clash of civilizations (Huntington 1996). With the global dynamics elucidating these dystopias, Bobbitt explicates an uncertain future with an inevitability of either continuum of low-key global violence or a cataclysmic war.

There is a widespread understanding that global politics is at a turning point in history, marked by new and different phases of development and various scholars have proliferated insights of the future that they have envisaged. An appreciation of the historical developments of the world we live in, makes the world that is emerging and its implications on mankind more comprehensible. The phenomena of warfare has been

analyzed from multiple and interdisciplinary perspectives- an understanding of its causes, conduct and consequences are thus imperative in understanding how it can be prevented or modified in future. According to Phillip Bobbitt, war is a creative act of civilized man with important consequences for the rest of human culture, which include the festivals of peace.

If you wish for peace, understand war...

— B.H.Liddell Hart,

Considering the norm of state formation and epochal wars in the last five centuries, there are speculations that the society of nation states is at a pivotal point in the history of modern state, marked by delegitimation and degeneration of its constitutional order. The sovereignty of nation-states lies within its territorial borders, within which it exercises its laws and outside of which it stands the right to defend its borders. This state sovereignty is under siege due to diminishing borders with new developments. These include ,international recognition of human rights regardless of internal laws, widespread deployment of nuclear weapons which renders the defence of state borders ineffectual, global and translational threats like environmental damage and mass migrations, global economy that ignores borders and finally, *creation of a global communications network that penetrates borders electronically* and threatens national languages, customs, cultures and most importantly state security, as learnt with the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 – an increasingly interdependent global society, within which no nation state is independent and invulnerable. Just as the development of guns destroyed the old feudal order, the development of railways the old dynastic order, now the development of *computers* has destroyed the nation-states (Howard 2002 cited in Bobbitt 2002: xiii).



The decaying society of nation states is thus followed by the emergence of a new constitutional order- the Market-state, which promises to maximize the opportunity of the people by privatizing many state activities and make voting and representative governments less influential and more responsive to the market (Bobbitt 2002: 211). Bobbitt mentions Brzezinski's belief that the emerging international society would class itself into six power centres and that future of conflict would be economic in nature (ibid: 258). Holsti (1996) points to the problem of legitimacy as a conflictual source – Fukuyama (1989) predicted that the 'end point of mankind's ideological evolution' comes with the 'universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government', which implies that the legitimacy of Western democratic values would be the ultimate and dominant form of legitimacy in the rest of the non-western world - the spread of which or the process of its spread, Huntington (1993) asserts, will be a source of conflict ,that the forth coming wars would construe from the interaction between the West and non-Western civilizations and among non-Western civilizations, in the form of 'clash of civilizations'( ibid: 22-49) .

Huntington (1993) groups countries in terms of cultures and civilizations as opposed to political or economic systems. A civilization may include sub-civilizations and several nation-states; it is the highest cultural grouping of people differentiated by uniqueness of common objective elements like religion, history, language and tradition and also subjective element of self-identification of people.

1. First, he states, differences among civilizations may arise from these attributes, which are historically deep seated and far more fundamental than political ideologies; some of these differences, for example religion, have created prolonged violent conflicts in the past.
2. Second, with increasing interactions between people of different civilizations, the civilization consciousness is intensified, which include commonalities and differences between the civilizations, this could further invigorate differences and animosities stretching back deep into history.
3. Third, economic modernization and social change, has separated people from their longstanding local identities, which further weaken the nation-state as a source of identity. This gap, Huntington states is being filled by religion, often in the form of movements termed as 'fundamentalist'. This revival of religion provides a basis for identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and unites civilizations.
4. Fourth, with the growth of civilization-consciousness, the west, at the peak of power, confronts non-Wests that increasingly have the desire, the will and the resources to shape the world in non-Western ways.
5. Fifth, cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones. People can choose and change sides in class and ideological conflicts. However in civilizational conflicts, ethnicity cannot be changed and religious discriminations are sharp and exclusive to people, as seen in the Bosnian war, located precisely on

the ‘fault line’ between Western Christianity, orthodoxy and Islam (Ferguson 2006).

Thus, Huntington states, the source of global conflict would be ‘cultural’ rather than economic or ideological in nature and the ‘fault lines between civilizations would be the battle lines of the future’ (Huntington 1993; 1996)

Huntington’s (1993; 1996) vision of future scenarios of international conflicts as realized in the incidents of September 11, validated his analyses of a civilizational clash. One instance of which is a long term struggle including periods of intense violence with the Muslim world, at the same time, it could also be a stimulus to democracy’s push into the non western world, (as witnessed with the invasion of Iraq), validating Fukuyama’s prediction of universalization of democracy (Kurtz 2002). With the changing dynamics of international relations with constitutional law and development of warfare, Bobbitt explicates ‘an *uncertain future*,’ of the emerging society of market states by his hypothesis of various future scenarios. In his explanation of the ‘uncertain future’ Bobbitt hypothesizes various future scenarios by adapting Scenario planning, pioneered by the royal Dutch Shell Corporation – scenario planning makes some probabilities appear less plausible that had more or less been taken for granted, and thus helps in locating signs of likewise unexpected futures (Bobbitt 2002: 718-719). These choices of the uncertain future that Bobbitt provides are equally disagreeable dystopias among a wide range of possible wars – ‘at worst there maybe cataclysms, at best a continuation of low key global violence’ in the form of low intensity conflict such as those seen in Rwanda, Bosnia, Northern Ireland, Palestine and elsewhere (ibid).

In response to these theories I therefore seek to make an interactive documentary, which although would explore the possibility of using non-violence as an alternative solution, would also explore people's views, opinions and ideologies, regarding interrelated subjects such as media, religion, terrorism, American imperialism, democracy, demonstrations, peace, hope and so on.

#### 4.3.2. Assessment of media

With the revolutionary changes in digital, information and communication technology, media's influential role in war and conflict situation has transgressed from mere coverage or propaganda to virulent weaponry of war itself. The internet, one of the appendages of new media, is being used as a cyber planning tool (Thomas 2003: 112) mobilizing the coordination and integration of attacks and the war zone have transcended from the 'battlefield to the cyberspace,' (Bobbitt 2002) with the conflict over Kosovo characterized as the 'first war on the Internet' (Denning 2007: 239). The coming together of revolutions in warfare and revolutions in government, Bobbitt explains, 'an uncertain future with two possible scenarios, short term wars such as the Afghan and Iraq war or an apocalyptic war, i.e. complete annihilation' (Bobbitt 2002).

In the wake of these dynamics of war and intense political struggle, the transformative 'use of internet has also become the basis of an unparalleled worldwide anti-war/pro-peace movement, (Kahn and Kellner 2004: 2) and new media developments in this technoculture stand the chance 'of reconfiguring of politics and culture and refocusing of

politics in everyday life' (ibid: 7). Added to this, the use of peace journalism which professes a 'language rooted in non-violence and creativity in thinking about conflict (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000; 20002), as opposed to the more conversant language of war and hatred in this century, which can promote a framework for 'peace-building'. Considering the power of the Internet as a medium, the use of an Internet based interactive storytelling system, such as the Korsakow, may make a contribution to understanding of the complexities of war and the possibilities of peace.

#### 4.3.3. Project design and implementation

The audience of the documentary ... For an effective peace-building media initiative, a close scrutiny of the audience, message (mass media) and the situation (environment) factors (Schramm and Roberts 1977) need to be applied.

The interactive documentary titled *An Eye for An Eye* is designed as a platform of shared experiences, mediating the possibility of reviving the concept of non-violence as an alternative to violence and military solutions, and introspecting aspects of peace and reconciliation. The framework of the narrative content draws from the analyses that 'media influence people in both short and long terms and has the power to influence beliefs, opinion and attitude that eventually translate into action' (Bratic 2006: 8). The documentary seeks to explore if the global bystander can become an active and empowered global participant to create a third scenario other than Bobbitt's two scenarios with an uncertain future.

#### 4.3.4 The production process

The film was shot mostly in the UK and Germany, and other countries include, Lebanon, Kyrgyzstan, The Netherlands and USA. The subjects included people from different backgrounds, such as students, people who have worked with diplomacies, people who have experienced conflict situations, peace activities, politicians, religious leaders and demonstrators. Initially the interviewees were asked a set of specific questions that I have mentioned in the introduction to the documentary. However, as I started interviewing, I made the interview sessions more like discussions and conversations rather than remain within those set of questions. The subjects themselves, narrated their personal experiences and shared their opinions about religion, media, politics, people power etc. Hence, what started as a fixed frame of content, become more extensible and complex and the film therefore reveals the underlying subliminal complexities that form beliefs and opinions about larger political issues such as use of non-violence and the prospects of peace.

Once the footage was collected, it was edited into a short linear film and then the footage was broken down according to subjects, such as a set of narratives where people talk about their experiences of 9/11 or the Iraq war, or their opinion about Gandhi and so on. These were then collected and put into the Korsakow database, which was programmed to randomly generate the sequences each time the audience traced their individual paths.

It is important to mention here, that the work, which was in progress, was in an external hard drive, which crashed in June 2007. The crash corrupted all the data and hence all the

tapes had to be re-captured. Due to technical problems, all the tapes could not be batch captured into Final Cut Pro, which I was using for editing. I was however able to retrieve some parts of the Final Cut file that I was working and much work needs to be done to reconstruct what is already lost or maybe construct anew. Therefore, as part of the requirement of the thesis, I have put together a prototype of some clips, which will be available, online on the site [www.aneyeforaneyefilm.net](http://www.aneyeforaneyefilm.net). Hence, it should be viewed only from the perspective of a working prototype and not the complete film.

In the following chapter, I discuss the future directions of this research, the limitations of this research and my conclusion of this research. In addition, since post-project evaluation does not form part of this research; I discuss the possibilities that can be used to assess the media effect or the impact of the documentary within the framework of peacebuilding.

## **5. CRITICAL REFLECTION**

Based on my research, I have proposed the following:

### **Traditional and interactive documentary making in peacebuilding...**

First, peacebuilding is a complex and a long-term process, which has specific needs and for any peacebuilding media project, it is imperative to address these needs. Due to the structural and networking possibilities of interactive documentary, it has the potential for

to contribute in a long-term peacebuilding process. Further, Howard (2002) stresses the need for a subjective form of representing reality that works towards conflict resolution. In this context, interactive documentary allows the author to address larger issues with a subjective method, at the same time, does not impose his or her opinion onto the audience as the audience form their own view points about the issues being address. Interactive documentaries thus have the potential to contribute in this field as a peacebuilding tool.

Further, I had mentioned about the current debate in the Western media circle about objective versus subjective mode of journalism, which is pertinent to me in the context of addressing peace and conflict issues through the medium of documentary. Recently in the Western media circle this debate has taken a new direction, which professes the need to stay detached as well as attached. However, to resolve this conflict of maintaining objectivity as well as subjectivity to some extents needs a new methodology of journalistic practice. Last year, Stephen War conceptualized a new form of journalism, called Pragmatic journalism.

In 'The Invention of Journalism Ethics' Stephen Ward (2004) argues that, considering the current emphasis in the news media on interpretation, analysis, and perspective, there is a need for a new theory of objectivity for journalists and the public, which he proposes as pragmatic objectivity. According to Ward, this new theory is required to enable them to recognize and avoid biased and unbalanced reporting. Ward explains the ethical assertions of journalists in various eras, focusing on the changing relationship between journalist and audience. He explains that the objectivity required in journalism is not a set



of absolute standards but the same ‘fallible but reasonable’ objectivity, that is used for making decisions in professions and public institutions, and must be understood as a long and complex interaction between many social, economic, and ideational factors.

Considering this new development in this debate I think my stance to personally maintain objectivity at the same time use a subjective way of representing reality based on Howard’s point was in line with the direction in which (un)conventional journalism is moving forward. In addition, such a stance was possible by using the medium of an interactive documentary.

### **Media artists and media peacebuilding project...**

The second understanding is that for media artists to create a media peacebuilding project, it is important for the artist to take the role of a (peace)journalist who integrates art with technology following the framework of media assistance in peacebuilding. In addition, this requires the artist an in depth understanding of peace and reconciliation issues and conflict analysis; just as a peace journalist requires the skills of a journalist at the same time, needs an understanding of conflict analysis. This is exceptionally important considering the fact that there are several media artists who have endeavoured to make artworks that address these issues of peace and conflict. However, for their works to transgress from the field of ‘art for art sake’, and make a ‘tangible’ difference in the society, it is important for them to understand the needs of a peacebuilding process. Further, using an appropriate evaluation process can also assess the impact of these artworks, within the framework of peacebuilding.

### **Media artists and peace activists...**

It is important to address, that there are several interesting media artworks and projects that address and question pertinent issues regarding peace (positive and negative) and conflict, however, they are not defined specifically within the domain of media or art works for peacebuilding; although they indirectly assist in the peacebuilding process. Some interesting and even effective projects include Lynn Hershman's America's Finest, Krystoph Wodiczko's anti war installation addressing the war in Iraq, Michael Rakowitz's installation of objects and products from Iraq, Voteauction by Hans Bernhard, Testballot: examining the faulty machinery of democracy by Michael Rakowitz, a web-based project called Dropping Knowledge. There are other very effective projects such as VideoLetters, The forgiveness project and the Pax warrior. Following on from the previous understanding, it is also proposed that for creating works of art and media that can be specifically utilized for peacebuilding within a specific conflict(s), it would be helpful to have a platform for a dialogue between media artists and peace activists and peace theorists. Such a platform can help them to better address their needs for peacebuilding and how media artists can specifically contribute further in this direction.

### *Simplicity versus complexity...*

As mentioned in the section that addresses the challenges of interactive documentaries, I would like to point that for addressing complexities such as war, conflict and peace issues, it is important to use a simplistic form of technology that can be easily accessed and engaged and interacted with. It is important to address that majority of people who do

not belong to the field of art and do not possess artistic acumen, are used to a big rectangular cinema screen of a traditional documentary and would grapple with the idea of an 'interactive' documentary which can be viewed on a 'computer' instead of a cinema screen.

From my personal experience in December 2005, when I screened a short working prototype of the interactive cinema on a computer screen to students and staff of a module on conflict transformation, I realized that people who do not come from the media art background, have much difficulty in breaking away from the conventional form of cinema screen. It is therefore imperative to use a simplistic form of technology which has more semblance with a traditional cinema screen to address media content for something as complex as peacebuilding.

### **Emotional intelligence and peacebuilding...**

In discussing constructive conflict coverage using the peace journalism approach, Wilhelm Kempf (2003) draws upon a social-psychological research and development program. Kempf states that implementation of a peace journalism also makes a fundamental change in which the media functions. This necessarily implies a change in the journalistic viewpoint, and with it a change in the journalists' perceptions (2003: 4). From a psychological perspective, Kempf states that the controversy about war journalism vs. peace journalism is concerned with firstly, aggressive interaction, second with the construction of social reality, and third with the question of the role journalism

and the media (can) play in this process (ibid). This is based on the idea that the actions of the conflicting parties are not determined by the objectively defined conflict situation (i.e. the actual incompatibility of their rights, intentions and actions) but rather their subjectively defined perceptions of the conflict. Kempf (2003: 4) quotes Blumer, who states that people do not act because of the objective nature of things in their environment but because of the meaning, these have for them (Blumer 1973)

Meanings are the result of a social negotiation process and are constituted in the social discourse – here in the discourse within and between the conflicting partners. In the case of political conflict, the media take on an important mediating role and this is why warring parties always try to ensure that media reporting serves their propaganda aims. Hence, the influence of the media cannot be taken within the framework of a simple stimulus-response model (cf. Jaeger, 2003). The making of the meaning is an interactive process in which the media is only one actor among many.

Journalists are subject to not only to certain institutional pressures but also to the same socio-psychological pressures as other people, particularly the distortions of the perception of conflicts, which, so to speak, adjust automatically with their own involvement in the escalating violence (Kempf 2003: 4). It is obvious that a distortion of the perception of the conflict is involved when we recall that every conflict affects the rights and aims of all participants. Further, conflicts are basically open to either being resolved cooperatively to everyone's benefit (win-win model), or resolved competitively (win-lose model); where each party tries to achieve its own rights and goals at the

expense of those of the other. We can thus speak of a distortion of the perception of the conflict as soon as perception of the conflict excludes one of the two options for its solutions (ibid: 8). Such a distortion of perception can also occur to a filmmaker who is working towards representing reality of the conflict.

This distortion of perception affects the ‘reality testing’ component within the interpersonal competency in emotional-social intelligence, as per the Bar-On model of ESI. In this context, I propose that peace journalists and documentary makers who work with such issues could undergo emotional intelligence training, as Bar On (1997; 2006) proposed that emotional and social intelligence is teachable and learnable. This would benefit a peace journalist as well as a documentary making in representing the reality of the conflict.

## 6. CONCLUSION

### 6.1 Summary

In the emergence of new media, Manovich mentions about the symbolic significance of Zuse Konrad's program control by punch tape. Konrad had used a discarded 35mm movie film over which the binary code was superimposed. Manovich states, '*the iconic code of cinema is discarded in favour of the more efficient binary one. Cinema becomes a slave to the computer*' (Manovich 2002: 43-48). Manovich's contention is open for much discussion, however within the context of my research I would argue that indeed the iconic code of cinema is discarded in favour of the 'more efficient' binary one. Cinema's convergence with new media led to the emergence of new cinematic forms and conventions which break away from the limitations of the traditional cinema and present novel and dynamic ways of representing reality and engaging audience. The fact that the audience can 'physically' control and influence the representation of reality in their own subjective ways and choices is of significance, as it transforms the consumer into a creator, which has wider implications in the society. My research sought to explore the possibilities of how interactive documentary can contribute within the field of peacebuilding, given its advantages over traditional documentary and the new dynamics of audience reception, participation and interaction.

As a process, peacebuilding is very complex and has certain specificities, based on how it is described by Boutros-Ghali, Galtung and Assefa, among others. It is driven by goals

and the process is stipulated within frameworks, as suggested by Spurk and Howard. In considering the use of any media including interactive documentary, it must adhere to these norms and goals of peacebuilding. Most significantly, an understanding of how media intervention such as journalism works in peacebuilding is of pertinence as it is at the forefront of any peacebuilding process. In this context, Howard among others specifically stresses that conventional journalism is adding more violence in the world; hence, it is imperative to use unconventional and subjective modes of journalism such as peace journalism. Apart from this contention, Fröhlich establishes the need to understand and apply emotional intelligence within journalism and media, and for a documentary maker this understanding is important because being emotionally intelligent at intra-personal level influences the messages the filmmaker conveys at an interpersonal level to the audience. Within the context of peacebuilding, this is an important consideration. Further, Fröhlich has established that peace journalism is an emotionally intelligent approach to world events and using Bar-On's concept of emotional-social intelligence, I inferred that peace journalism is an emotionally and socially intelligent approach to journalism, both for the journalist (and filmmaker) and the audience.

Keeping in view of these needs and considerations in peacebuilding, I analysed the concept of peace journalism in terms of its philosophy and working principles, as suggested by Galtung, McGoldrick and Lynch. While peace journalism is an effective and an emotionally and socially intelligent approach to journalism, specifically with regard to peace and conflict issues, it has also been subjected to resistance and most significantly difficulties in implementing, which has largely rendered this as an academic

project struggling its way in the media institutions. Peace journalism is largely a form of news reporting, which explores and delves into the complexities of conflict situations, so that different outcomes can be analysed from which possible peaceful solutions can be realized. It is a long-term process and stays with the conflict even after the violence has subsided and peace treaties have been signed, for reconciliation, reformation and reconstruction. I proposed the use of interactive documentary as an alternative medium to reporting, since there is much potential in mass media apart from just news, which is only 15% of the media (Rolt).

In this investigation, I inferred that if an interactive documentary conforms to the needs and working principles of peace journalism, it has the potential for being used as a peacebuilding tool. These attributes need to incorporate the ability to explore and represent reality of the conflict in greater depth, from multiple perspectives and dimensions and allow audience participation in the process of the construction of the reality of the conflict. It is also important to consider the attributes of media peacebuilding projects that have been effective in peacebuilding. Further, to effectively use this medium, it is important to consider its limitations and challenges.

Based on these analyses, it is established that for such utilization of interactive documentary, it needs to address not only the requirements of peacebuilding, but should be mass accessible. It should use a simplistic form of that is, I would use a term ‘mass comprehensible’, i.e. an interface and a mode of navigation and interaction, which doesn’t need artistic acumen and inquisitiveness, but is easily engaged with. In this



direction, I proposed the use of Korsakow system which is a database story telling system, in which audience trace their own path and get different or multiple linear versions (which Kevin Brookes calls meta linear), hence, the audience get to participate in the construction of the represented reality in multiple perspectives in multiple dimensions and therefore a better understanding of the issues addressed in the media content.

This research however has some limitations, which I discuss in the next section.

## 6.2 Limitations of this research

Interactive documentary as a medium cannot be used in conflicts that are geographically situated in places that fall under the digital divide. In such places, radio would be the most suitable medium. Further, just by putting the documentary on the internet, it is not necessary that the audience will easily find its way to the documentary, hence it would need to use similar channels of advertising that traditional documentaries make, such as through posters, word of mouth, internet networking platforms such as U-Tube and Facebook etc. Another point is that in the Korsakow system, currently there is no way of tracking audiences' paths, hence one cannot ascertain the path, hence get an understanding of the psychometric response of the audience.

### 6.3 Future directions

One of the key things I would be interested in pursuing after this is to analyse the impact of the documentaries from various ways.

First, one could use the *Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment Handbook* (PCIA Handbook guide), which is a guide specifically designed for assessing the impact of media peace building projects. Hence, one could follow the framework of the guide and use qualitative and quantitative methods for analysing the impact, for example through surveys, focus groups etc.

A second approach, that I would be most interested is to investigate the possibility of assessing the audience EQi before watching the documentary and after watching the documentary. It is unclear if such a methodology is even practical, but I would like to ascertain if engaging and interacting with the documentary makes any difference to the audience at the intra or inter personal level.

A third approach is to explore the notion of ‘human experience’. Scrivener states that a creative production project contributes to human experience, however, he does not state exactly what constitutes human experience. Based on this analysis of what factors or influences constitute human experience, one can draw up a qualitative method of analysing the impact of the documentary on the audience on their ‘experience’.

A fourth approach, is to draw a set of audience, who view the linear film first and the then the interactive documentary and another set of audience who view the interactive documentary first and then the traditional documentary. Clearly, they would have different experiences of engaging and interacting with the media content. Using focus groups and questionnaires, one could examine (a) the use of interactive documentary versus traditional documentary in understanding of the issues addressed in the documentaries and (b) the variances in audience reception, engagement and interaction of the two different media.

#### 6.4 Contributions of this research

First, this research establishes the potential use of interactive documentary as a peacebuilding tool.

Second, it argues that a traditional documentary can be used to assist in peacebuilding but it may not fulfil all the requirements of a long-term peacebuilding process. On the other hand, it argues that an interactive documentary when accompanied by social networking tools can make a long-term contribution in this direction.

Third, it discusses the potential application of emotional and social intelligence in peace journalism as a journalistic practice.

Fourth, it argues for the need for documentary makers working on conflict issues to understanding of emotional intelligence.

Fifth, it provides insights into different possibilities for assessing audience engagement and interaction with interactive documentaries; so far, there are no established methods for assessing the social impact of interactive documentaries and most specifically using the concept of EQi.

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